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THE

MALABAR QUARTERLY REVIEW.

EDITED BY

K. N. SIVARAJAN, B.

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THE

MALABAR QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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Distribution of Races round the Persian Gulf.

BY MR. J. A. SALDANHA, B. A., LL. B.

WE have seen that in primitive times, the Hamitic tribes once predominated the Persian Gulf on all its sides. In Chaldea and Assyria they were subjugated by a Semitic people, while on the Persian side, under a succession of Aryan or Aryo-Scythian empires, the Hamitic tribes became coalesced both in race and language with the ruling nations that hailed from the north and north-east. The only people left untouched on the Persian side were the "fish-eaters", the Ichthyophagi, in Mekran.

On the conquest of the countries round the Gulf by the Mussulmans in the seventh century, the coasts of East Arabia and Irak Arabia were overrun by a rush of Arab tribes from central and western Arabia. Some of them crossed the sea and established themselves on the Persian coast, where their colonies are still to be found. Referring to the passing sensational events in Southern Persia, it must be mentioned that the Tangistanis, who cause so much trouble by occasional raids on Bushire, are neither Arabs nor Persians, but are supposed to be the descendants of a derelict Greek corps left behind during the conquests of Alexander the Great. The only tribes surviving the flood of Arab incursions on the western coast are the wild savages inhabiting the villages near the promontary Ras Mussendoff

The interracial and commercial connection of the peoples round the Persian Gulf with those in India is a subject of absorbing interest. That it was once much more intimate than in modern times

has been clearly demonstrated by historical research. The Persian Gulf was in ancient times the easiest and most convenient highway of commerce between India and Western Asia with the magnificent seats of civilization on the rivers, Tigris and Euphrates. In modern times it has had to give way to the Red Sea route, but it is sure to leap into importance on the completion of the Baghdad Railway as far as Basrah and the execution of the projected grand irrigation works in Chaldea. The modern times have brought over to India from the shores of the Persian Gulf a number of large communities, the Beni-Israelites, the Navayats, the Daldis, and the Parsis, and have taken over a large number of Indian Shia Mussulmans settled at Kerbella and other sacred Shia places in Turkish Arabia, and of Banias and other traders settled in Bahrein, Pearl Coast and Bandar Abbas who have invested their lakhs in the pearl and other enterprises. History repeats itself. The racial and commercial intercourse was perhaps even on a larger scale when the Persian Gulf was dominated by powerful empires and highly civilized and wealthy nations.

What then were the peoples that in former times inhabited the Western India from Sind to Cape Comorin with whom the Persian Gulf tribes could come into touch? To enable us to answer this question, we shall take a brief review of the events that led to the growth of communities in India. When* the Aryans crossed the Sindhu (Indus) about three thousand years before Christ, they found the aboriginal tribes of India able to offer them a stout resistance. Among the most famous are described in the Rig-Veda (IV, 7, 30. 17 and VI, 6, 20, 12) to have been the *Yadu* and *Turuvasa*, who, it is stated in the same ancient book, were once dwellers on the seashore carried across the sea by Indra. The Aryans as a rule carried everything before them, subjugating the aboriginal population who from *Dasyus*, foreigners, became *Dasyas*, slaves of their conquerors. Yet there were occasions when, during internal civil strife, the Aryan tribes allied themselves with the Dasyus, like the *Purus* and *Gandharas* and *Bharatas*. Later on, we find a confederacy of ten tribes, including the non-Aryan Purus and Bharatas, under the leadership of the Puru king Kutsa, formed against the Aryan tribe *Tritsu* with their allies the *Prithu* and the *Parsu*. The Rishi Vasistha

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* Vide the author's *Konkan's or Goan castes* (1904) pp. 41 *et seqq.*

was the high-priest of the Tritsu, and the Rishi Vishvamitra is found to take sides with the ten tribes. Here is a description of the parties given in *The Story of Vedic India* (pp. 327-9), which bears being quoted:—

"The names of both the enemies and the allies of the Tritsu and their King Sudas have been preserved for us by the bards of the Rig-Veda. The confederacy, consisting of ten powerful tribes, was headed by the Puru under their hero the great Kutsa, and by the Bharatas who, already converted by Vishvamitra, were to become so thoroughly Aryanized, and take such a prominent position that, in after days, "the Land of the Bharatas" was to become a synonym for "Aryan India." The names of several other famous chieftains are mentioned as having perished in the decisive battle. Neither were the Tritsu unprovided with allies, and in the array of the latter we are startled to find two very familiar names—those of the Parthians and the Persians—*Prithu* and *Parsu*, though there is really nothing so very wonderful in the fact that chips of the two chief Eranian tribes should have, like others, wandered south of the Himalaya. A people named *Vishanin* i.e., followers of Vishnu, is also mentioned, almost certainly Aryan Sun-worshippers, showing that Vishnuism as a distinctive worship—a sect—had its roots in a remoter past than was hitherto suspected. As though to complete the connection, we find in the list of the Tritsu's allies the Vishanin bracketed with the *Shiva*, which is thought to be a name of the Tugra, one of the oldest aboriginal Dravidian peoples, whom the Aryas had specially nicknamed "Sons of the Serpent," and who, under the religious designation of Shiva, were very probably the originators of the worship of Shiva under the form or with the attribute of a snake. That all these peoples had even then already become much mixed, partly with the Aryan element, is more than likely. At all events it takes one's breath away to find the three component elements of modern Hinduism: Brahmanism, Vishnuism, and Shivaism, arrayed before us in the Rig-Veda in precisely the same juxtaposition: Tritsu, Vishanin, Shiva!"

Later on it is found that the great Kshatriya tribe of *Kurus* and *Pandavas* is made to descend from the non-Aryan tribe of *Purus* of the time of the Rig-Veda. It is significant also that in the Rig-Veda Krishna is the name of a non-Aryan king, a loud yelling marauding chief, whom Indra destroyed for the benefit of the Aryan nation

(Rig-Veda, VIII, 96, 13-15). This barbarian name Krishna is in the Mahabarata given to the king of the Kshatriya tribe of the *Yadavas* of Gujerat, who seem to be the descendants of the non-Aryan tribe of the Vedas that went by the name of *Yadu*. The *Nishadas* were Dasyus or barbarians in the eyes of the Vedic Aryans, but Nala, their king, is described in the Mahabarata as virtuous, learned in the Vedas, and in fact in every way that makes him a Kshatriya. Examples might be multiplied to show how the Aryans in the Vedic and Epic periods incorporated in their nation non-Aryan tribes and engrafted them within their own classes according to their profession of priests, warriors, traders, &c.

There is an interesting passage in Baudhayana (about 600 B.C.) which describes the state of the Aryan conquests soon after the Vedic period:—

"Some declare the country between the Jumna and the Ganges to be the *Arya-land*.

"The inhabitants of Avanti (Malva), of Anga (East Behar), of Magadha (South Behar), of Surashtra (Gujrat), of the Dekhan, of Upavrit (Sindh), and the Sauviras (South Punjab) *are of mixed origin*.

"He who has visited the Arattas (of the Punjab), the Karaskaras (of Southern India), the Pundras (of North Bengal), the Sauviras (of South Punjab), the Vangas (of East Bengal), the Kalingas (of South Bengal and Orissa), or the Pranunas, *shall offer a sacrifice*."

According to the laws of Manu the Arya-land extended over the whole of Northern India, and the kings of Magadah and other kingdoms in that region, the descendants of non-Aryan chiefs that probably married Aryan damsels, are regarded as pure Kshatriyas. Manu grades the various portions of Arya-Varta according to the orthodox piety and probable purity of blood of the Aryan-settlers, placing as the first in rank the Brahma-Varta, the land between the two divine rivers, Sarasvati and Dhrishadvati. "The custom handed down in regular succession among the castes and *mixed races* of that country is called the conduct of virtuous men." The words *mixed races*, which I have underlined, are suggestive. This mixture of races by mixed marriages is expressly allowed by many Shastra writers and rever-

sion after certain generations of the progeny to the status of the male, who married the girl of a lower caste, is also recognised.

At the time the laws of Manu were written (about 200 B.C.), Southern India was the land of Mlechchas (barbarians), while in Western and Central India the people, as told us by Baudhayana, were of mixed origin. About the time of Christ, Southern India was Hinduized and brought completely under the influence of Aryan civilisation. But the language and race of the Dravidians was but little affected by the Aryans. The Dravidian languages, especially Tamil, had reached a very high stage of development, so that Sanskrit made a slight impression upon them, as little as did Greek upon Latin. We find in Southern India a complete classification of the people on caste lines at a very early date. Surely the people of Southern India are not Aryans racially. They were, and are still, mainly of Dravidian race with a slight, if any, admixture of Aryan blood. In Southern India the aboriginal tribes in adopting the Hindu religion selected, as observed by Mr. Dutt (*Ancient India*), priests of their own race. Indeed, the extreme rigour of caste distinctions in Southern India, as compared with its laxity in Western and Northern India, is perhaps to be accounted for by the fact that classes had already nearly developed into castes among the Dravidians at the advent of the Aryan into India, and that the crystallisation of the Aryan classes into castes was accelerated, if not actually caused, by the contact and intercourse of the Aryans with the Dravidians.

As the Aryans were spreading the mantle of their civilisation over the whole of India, their own race and civilisation were also profoundly affected by the conquest of Northern India in the sixth century B,C., by a tribe of Scythian origin called *Takshakas* (serpents) by the Hindus. These latter established a dynasty in the Magadah kingdom, which reigned until Chandragupta founded the Mauryan dynasty. The incursion of the Persians under Darius Hystaspes, 510 B.C., left little mark in India. The invasion of India by Alexander, 327 B.C., left only a kingdom under one of his generals in the north-western corner of India. More permanent in its influence was the establishment in Central and Western India of the Indo-Scythian or Saka Empire of Ujjain about the time of Christ. As a result of the wars waged at the first invasion of India by the Scythians, the old military feudal class appears to have broken down

and in its place rose a new class, probably represented by the modern Rajputs.

We may draw some important conclusions from this review of events. When the Aryans began the conquest of India, they had to reckon with some powerful and highly civilized non-Aryan tribes, notably the *Yadu* and *Turuvasu*, who had settled themselves about Sindh after crossing the sea. In those early times, they could have come the furthest from some part or parts on the Persian Gulf in close touch with the Chaldean civilization. The Aryans occasionally allied themselves with the Parthians and Persians in their internal civil wars, thus establishing connecting links with Chaldea by land. Passing down into Western India the Aryans formed with the aboriginal tribes a mixed population, a result which could have been brought about if only the local tribes were civilized like or nearly as much as the Aryans. The people south of Goa or Gokarn were left almost intact in their race and language—the conquering Aryans being completely absorbed among the Dravidians. They had attained a high degree of civilization and while imbibing much from the Aryans allowed the Aryans to absorb as much if not more from themselves. Taking thus into consideration the various degrees of combination and admixture, between the Aryan and non-Aryans in India, we might conclude that they are indebted to one another for much that is good and evil in their civilization. Another feature to be noted in our racial formation is the introduction of the Scythian element in the people of Gujerat and Rajputana, about the beginning of the Christian era. But it does not appear that the Scythian settlement in India affected much the coast people of Mekran, Sind and Kutch. These coast people have produced the most enterprising sailors on the Arabian Sea and have for centuries held their own in maritime enterprises to Arabia, the Persian Gulf, the Malabar Coast and Africa. They still retain the spirit of the old Phœnicians, who are supposed to have commanded the seas in the East as well as the West in ancient times. Are then the Cutch, Sindh and Mekran's sailors the descendants of the once famous sailors of the ancient times? Are they Hamitic by race as were the Phœnicians? Do the Dravidians of Southern India belong to the same race?

In answering these questions, we cannot venture into any original research, but have to rely upon the results of the research and [illegible] ...hors. "The connection", writes the author of *Vedic India*

(The Story of Nations Series), "between the Dravidians of Northern and Western India and the First Babylonian Empire—the Babylonians of Shumero-Accad, before the Advent of the Semites—becomes less surprising when we realize that there was between them something of more than chance relations, that they were in fact of the same race or stock, that which is broadly designated as "Turanian." The same view is urged by Mr. J. M. Kennedy in a learned article "*Early Commerce of Babylon with India*" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*—1898. The theory is discussed also elsewhere* and finds acceptance among a number of Hindu scholars. The racial connection between the Persian Gulf and the Indian peoples is traced not only through the commercial intercourse that must have existed from ancient times, but from the influences of Babylonian on Indian civilization that can be clearly traced. There was evidently a mutual exchange of ideas and things, which it is believed was brought about through the non-Aryan tribes in Western and Southern India, who had been in close touch with the lonians. The community of race, language and religion as well as commercial interests between the races of the Persian Gulf and Western India is thus a subject deserving thorough research and investigation, which I hope these notes will help to stimulate among the readers of the *Malabar Quarterly Review*.

J. A. SALDANHA.

* For recent contribution *The East and West* 1905 pp. 828-37 *The Tamilian Antiquary*—1908 p. 1.

Socio-religious Reforms in India.

By Mr. N. Subbaraya Aiyar.

THE present age is an age of reforms and experiments. The present day Hindus are not content with second-hand informations as to the building up of Society on a caste basis and in regard to their rites and ceremonies. They want to know the reason why and the circumstances in which their laws—social, religious and intellectual—were proclaimed to the people and to what localities they were made applicable. They want to encourage late-marriage and widow-marriage, sea-travels and the higher education of females and to introduce changes—social and religious—changes by which the prohibitory rules regarding inter-marriage and interdining should be modified—changes which are likely to terminate in the complete neglect and disregard of rites and ceremonies. The Hindus of the present day want to disown their own national character and assume that of England so far as political and social institutions are concerned. A handful of men might be able to transform themselves into Englishmen but to metamorphose three hundred millions of people into an alien race can only be a dream.

The main causes that have led to this denationalising tendency—a tendency to break up the old order and adopt outlandish customs and manners—are due primarily to the inability of the nation to rightly understand the ancient ideals and the large attraction of English Education. The fashionable toilettes, the evening drives, the political views and social etiquette of the Europeans, have caused many a Hindu to give up the simple and artless life of the East and ape the social system of the West. The ancient socio-religious institutions of India are perhaps unsuited to the Hindus of modern India. To change them altogether for foreign ones would be suicidal madness.

The Brahmans of the present day are unable to earn a decent livelihood in India, their mother-country, by their ancient six-fold occupation—the learning and teaching of the Vedas, performing religious sacrifices in all their forms and officiating at the celebration of sacrifices for others, the giving and accepting of gifts. The Brahmans in by-gone times were maintained exclusively by the ruling Native Princes, who encouraged learning in all its departments and

directed them to strictly adhere to their six-fold duties conformably to the Dharma Sastras. The Native Princes on whose bounty and benevolence the Brahmans lived for a considerable length of time are now no longer able to extend to them the privileges they once enjoyed and the protection they were once accorded. They are therefore forced to give up their original avocations in their own land and seek out their livelihood in distant lands, as Ceylon Burmah or even Japan.

It is said in the *Varnasrama Dharma*, that he who performs the six-fold duties is alone entitled to be called a Brahman and that *Vedagnanam*, (knowledge of the scriptures), *Brahmanganam* (spritual knowledge) and *Thaponishta* (asceticism or austerities) are his special qualifications. The other two castes of the *dwijas*, the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, had the privilege to learn the Vedas, perform sacrifices and give gifts, being three out of the six-fold occupation of the Brahman. But in these times—times which have changed from good to evil, from peace and plenty to strife and famine the Brahmans have to a high degree deteriorated and have taken a liking to European manners and style of living and have an inordinate desire to travel by sea to distant lands to earn their livelihood.

The fore-most of the tendencies of the present-day Hindus is to do away with the castes into which they were divided thousands of years ago and recognised by successive generations for ages without any attempt made to distroy or reconstruct them.

The term caste was originally applied by the Portuguese in the Western Coasts of India to certain native races or tribes who followed particular occupations or also possessed special or peculiar Social status—a status obtained by or assigned to them by birth or lineage. "It now denotes any well-defined native community, class or section of a community, which is governed for certain internal purposes by its own regulation or rules, whether such community, class or section be Hindu, Mahomedan or any other creed." Caste means a race of men descended from one common progenitor, who have preserved themselves distinct from other races. It is now applied to the mixed tribes sprung from marriage connections between the original tribes, to those classes of men who follow the same pursuit in life and to those who enter-

tain the same religious belief and governed by the rules peculiar to the sect or community to which they belong.

"The caste is a social combination, members of which are enlisted by birth, not by enrolment. Its rules consist partly of resolutions passed from time to time, but for the most part of usages handed down from generation to generation. The caste is not a religious body, though its usages like all other Hindu usages, are based upon religious feelings. In religious matters, strictly so called, the members of the caste are guided by their religious preceptors and their spiritual heads. In social matters they lay down their own laws.

Castes are hereditary classes into which the Hindu Society is divided and which are perpetually distinguished from one another by certain prohibitory rules in regard to marriage, eating &c.

The Rig Veda which occupies the most prominent position is admitted on all hands to be the earliest literary work of the Aryans. No doubt, the hymns comprised therein are not all of them of the same age. The Yagur Veda and other Samhits and most of the Brahmanas were compiled or composed subsequent to the Rig Veda, and the principal Upanishads later on. The Kalpa Sutras and some of the Vedangas belong to the next period. The earliest period of Vedic Society is 2000 B. C. The hymns of the Rig Veda clearly show that the earliest Aryans settled in the doab of the Saraswati and Drishadvati and named it *Brahmavarta*, and they thence moved on to the doab of the Ganges and Jumna which they called *Brahmarishidesa*. They then pushed on as far as Allahabad and called this new country *Madhyadesa*. They lastly occupied the whole of Central India, which was called *Aryavarta* (the abode of the Aryans). The bulk of the Aryans were known as the *Vis* or *Visas* and as they were mostly engaged in agriculture and trade, they were latterly called *Vaisyas*. Above these were two small sections of the Aryans—the Brahmans or the priests and the Rajangias or the Kshatriyas. The earliest account of the origin of the *Chathurvarnas* or the four-fold division of Hindus, including the Sudra, is that furnished by the *Purusha Sukta*, and that which is found in the *Taittariya Samhita* (VII—I)

It is clear from the passage in the Rig Veda that before the close of the Rig Veda period, all the four classes of the Hindu community had been established and rules of personal conduct and ceremonial observances had been promulgated and special duties assigned to each class and an order of precedence based thereon—the Brahmans or priests being placed in the first rank with special privileges—privileges whereby they were to address prayers to the gods and to have the sole charge of the intellectual and spiritual training of the people. The Kshatriya formed the royal and military class, the Vaisya, the agricultural and the Sudra, the serving class.

The passage in the Taittariya Samhita shows that "Prajapathi' desirous of creating, created the Trivatstoma, Agni, the Brahmans, &c., from his mouth and as he created them from his mouth, they became the foremost"

The four-fold division of the Hindus was therefore in existence long before Manu's time. It is therefore wrong to attribute the system of castes to the sage Manu, who might perhaps have made the social rules more perfect.

With reference to the system of castes in India, various are the theories propounded, one conflicting with the other. As already observed, the oldest reference to the four-fold division of the Hindus is made in the Purusha Sukta. Reference is also made in the Santhi Parva of the Mahabharata. The Bhagavat Gita says that castes were created according to the apportionment of qualities and duties.

It is asserted that in ancient times there was but one caste, one Veda and one God, that caste as such did not exist and that any man had the liberty and privilege to compose hymns. It was quite so, for it is said that in the first age of *Krita Yuga*, there was but one caste, one god and one Veda and that in that age, only *dhyanam* (meditation) was in vogue and *Karma* (ceremonies) did not exist. That in the next age *Threta*, the four-fold division of the Hindus was in existence is clear from several passages in the Ramayana. It is said that in the next age Dvaipiayana, the son of Parassara compiled and arranged the Hindu Scriptures in the present order

who thence obtained the surname of *Veda Vyasa* or the compiler of the Vedas, and that he distributed the Veda into four parts—Rik, Yajush, Sâman and Atharvana—each of these bearing the common denomination of Veda.

The *Gayatri,* the holiest text in the Veda, is attributed to Viswamitra, who was originally a Kshatriya and who subsequently attained the rank of *rishi* by superhuman feats of asceticism. A good many instances may be quoted to show that men belonging to different castes, from the highest to the lowest, have attained the rank of *rishis* by performing devotional penance. Any Hindu of the present day may, as well, by similar feats of asceticism, attain the same rank and command the same awe and reverence which the *rishis* of early times attained.

As observed by Prof. K Sundrarama Aiyar, " Some highly educated and esteemed men among us believe that the Brahmans can have no place in the present and future of Indian social life any that they must take the steps needed to vacate their place and cheerfully abide by the fate marked out for them. The Christian Missionaries and their native converts have long been dinning this into our ears, and now the same is repeated again and again, by the social and religious reformers—Theistic, Samajistic, Buddhistic and others—all of whom are banded together in solemn league and sworn covenant to bring about the dissolution and downfall of the Brahman hierarchy. Whatever outsiders may say, we who are and wish to remain, Aryas,—to preserve unimpaired the integrity of our social fabric and our place in the world, and to serve God and man in the future as in the past,—are bound to consider why our system of Varnasrama is important to us and to the future of our community and even of our race.

Although the present-day Brahmans are degenerate, yet they are Brahmans by caste, because they alone are entitled to perform certain rites and ceremonies, in default of doing which they are liable to excommunication and because they do still perform the same conformably to the *Srutis* and *Smritis.*

According to Gautama Samhita, members of all castes, except Sudras, failing to earn a livelihood by their respective professions

may live by trade. Brahmans, failing to earn a living by any of their ancient sixfold occupations may live by taking to agriculture and trade or money-lending. (vide Gautama Samhita, chap X.) In cases where life is jeopardized, a Brahman is authorised to bear arms, and a Kshatriya to live by trade. It is said in the Parasara Samhita that Brahmans, true to the duties of each *Yuga* they are born in, should not in any way be censured, since they are the embodiments of the Spirit of the Yuga. (Parasara Samhita, Chap. XI—48).

It is again said about the reference to castes in the *Purusha Sukta*, "This fanciful description may mean much; it may mean nothing. Anyhow the absence of any reference to this subject in the other parts of the Vedas, the language, the ideas and the nature of the versification of this hymn—all tend to show this is an addition made to the Vedas, at a comparatively recent date, by those interested in the maintenance of this institution, to give it the *imprimatur* of vedic sanction." On what authorities this fanciful assertion is made, we are at a loss to know. The assertion is further not proved. The force of this statement is nil, as it is unsupported by reasons.

The Hon'ble Dr. Bhandarkar traces the Dwija or twice-born classes to the Aryan invaders of India. As already observed, the Bhagavat Gita attributes the *Chathurvarnas*—four-fold division of castes to God's will. The learned Doctor is confronted with the *Purusha Sukta*, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Rishiproktams*, all of which give a divine support to the four castes.

Another point that is urged is that the influence of Brahmanism has at all times been to keep the lower classes in ignorance and poverty. This is a one-sided statement. The Brahmans never at any time wanted to keep those below them in social status, in ignorance and indigence. As each caste had its peculiar functions, the one did not lay claim to superiority over the other or ignore the other as the non-Brahman classes of Hindus now do. Further, the Smriti writers did not require the people other than Brahmans, to study or read the Vedas and perform sacrifices and other ceremonies of a religious nature and the lower classes also did not lay claim to the sixfold duties of the Brahman. Thus, the four-fold division of the Hindus continued for ages and all the different classes of the people

were working in perfect harmony with each other. Now that civilization has made great progress, science has advanced and English education has been diffused among all classes of people, the present generation of Hindus are no longer satisfied with the existing social laws and entertain an inordinate desire to introduce radical changes into their society and religion.

The Indian castes have several points of resemblance to various classes in ancient and mediæval European nations, in ancient Egypts in Peru, in America, in Persia and among the Jews of Palestine.

We know from history that caste existed in early times in several countries and we find that out of the twelve tribes of Israelites only one, that of Levi, was selected by Moses for temple service and that out of this tribe of Levi, only the house of Aaron was selected for priesthood. We also find that inter-marriage between the priestly families and the common people was not in vogue. The Israelites, as far as their relation with the surrounding tribes was concerned, were an exclusive caste in regard to marriage and eating. It is again clear from history that the Brehons of ancient Ireland and the Druids of Britain were hereditary repositories of religion and the law of the country and that in ancient Germany, there was a class of people known as *Goti*, or born of gods, a priestly order, who claimed a high birth as the Brahmans. The Babylonian and Jewish priests were, in early times, hereditary communities. In the same way, in ancient India also, in the Vedic times, we find that the religious rituals of the period required a distinct class of educated men to study, teach and conduct the same. A class of men well-read in the *Smritis* and *Srutis* must therefore have arisen, who were the sole repositories of religious knowledge, and they were the Brahmans. The religious rituals of the Brahmans were very intricate and elaborate, which had to be committed to memory as they were not reduced to writing and had to be handed down from generation to generation. This probably gave rise to a hereditary class of priests. As these priests were highly esteemed and revered by the common people, their intercourse with the latter became strained in course of time. The Brahmans therefore continued to enjoy the privileges above specified.

Hinduism exhibits all the phases of monotheism, pantheism, polytheism, animism and fetichism. Every community, every profession and every sect among the Hindus has retained its peculiar customs and religion with an admixture of Brahmanism and subject to the control of the Brahman. Hinduism is thus built upon ancient customs, and customs are bound by caste—Brahmanism, customs and caste being twined together. They contribute immensely to deepen and strengthen the devotion of the people to their religion and make it almost impossible to shake off the trammels of Brahmanism and make the Brahman all the more powerful, preserving at the same time the racial characteristics of the different classes in their pristine purity.

We must not forget the noble motives which prompted the Brahman legislators to build up society on a caste basis. A learned writer observes:—"For in a society constantly threatened by the ravages of barbarism, it is by means of hereditary castes that arts, industries, languages, and literature can best be acquired and mastered from childhood and preserved from generation to generation. The castes moreover provided an excellent machinery for civil administration and state economy by a complete division of labour, in which every caste, like a wheel in a machinery, works in harmony with the rest."

The institution of castes has manifold advantages and therefore deserves to be maintained in its complete purity. About caste distinctions among the Hindus, the same writer says that "The more class distinctions there are, the more order and sympathy there must be, and the more easy it is to exercise control and preserve order, that caste regulations counteract to a great extent the evil effects which would otherwise be produced on the national character by a religion that encourages the most unlicensed depravity of morals, as well in the decorations of its temples as in its dogmas and ritual, and that caste authority, which by means of its wise rules and prerogatives, preserves good order, suppresses vice, and saves Hindus from sinking into a state of barbarism. In a country like India, where the Native Princes and the aristocracy live a life of indolence, who attach no importance to making their dependents happy and

who take no pains to inculcate in them a sense of right and wrong, there are no other means of attaining these ends and preserving good order than by authoritative rulings of the caste system."

"Another advantage," says the same writer, "which has resulted from caste system is the hereditary continuation of families and the purity of descent which is peculiar only to the Hindus. The blood of one family or caste is never mixed up with that of another, marriages being confined to parties belonging to the same caste. In India, therefore, families can never deteriorate by alliances with persons of lower or unknown extraction. A high-caste Hindu can, without prejudicing his genealogical tree, trace his descent back for a thousand years or more without fear of contradiction."

Abbe Du Bois, the author of the Hindu Manners and Customs, after more than thirty years of intimate acquaintance with the manners and customs of the Hindus thus writes—"I consider the institution of castes among the Hindu nations as the happiest effort of their Legislations; and I am well convinced that, if the people of India never sunk into a state of barbarism, and if, when almost all Europe was plunged in that dreary gulf, India kept her head, preserved and extended the sciences, the arts and civilization, it is wholly to the distinction of castes that she is indebted for the high celebrity." The caste institution, moreover, engenders in us a respect for authority and discipline.

Sir H. S. Cotton, late Commissioner of Assam, writes about caste system thus:—"The Hindu caste system has its defects, but they are defects more than counter-balanced by the services it renders. Any attempt to abolish castes, if successful, would be attended with the most dangerous consequences. Caste is now the framework which knits together Hindu society. The problem of the future is not to destroy castes, but to modify it, to preserve its distinctive functions, and to gradually place them upon a social instead of a supernatural basis."

The above stated objects were those which the ancient law givers of India attained and thereby gained a distinction unparalleled in the history of the world. What remains to be said is said best and at great length by the writer above quoted as follows:—"Their

work has stood the test of thousands of years, and has survived the lapse of time and the many revolutions to which this portion of the globe has been subjected. The Hindus have often passed beneath the yoke of foreign invaders, whose religions, laws and customs have been very different from their own; yet all efforts to impose foreign institutions on the people of India have been futile and foreign occupation has never dealt more than a feeble blow against Indian castes. It was the caste system that supported them. Its authority was extensive enough to include sentences of death."

"The hardest and the most unbearable of all punishments for a Hindu is expulsion from his caste, which deprives him of all intercourse with his fellow-creatures and renders him, as it were, dead to the world and leaves him nothing in common with the rest of society. In losing his caste he not only loses his relations and friends, but also his wife and children, who often prefer leaving him to his fate to sharing his disgrace with him."

"A Hindu of good family avoids, as far as possible, intercourse with families outside his own circle and always aims at marrying his children into families which are already allied to him and the nearer the relationship the more easily are marriages contracted. They are most honoured who are particular in keeping themselves pure by constant bathing and abstaining from animal food, who are exact in the observance of marriage regulations, who keep their women shut up and punish them severely when they err, and who resolutely maintain the customs and privileges of their order."

N. SUBBARAYA AIYAR

(To be continued.)

Reflections on the Ruins at Tezpur (Assam).

BY PROF. PADMANATH BHATTACHARYYA, VIDYAVINOD, M. A.

IN January 1907 I had an occasion to pay a flying visit to Tezpur. "Tezpur" is an Assamese paraphrase of "Sonitpura" of legendary fame, "Sonita" in Sanskrit meaning also "blood" which is "Tez" in Assamese. I do not think, however, that the capital of so mighty a prince, as Vàna, bore an inauspicious name (blood city). I am rather inclined to believe that "Sonita" as an adjective here meant "red" so that its meaning was a "red city" instead of what is signified by the Assamese version.*

The title of Asura given to Vàna is said by some to indicate his non-Aryan origin. This opinion also is not a sound one. Vana's forefathers were Daityas such as "Vali" "Prahlada" "Hiranya-Kashipu" &c., who were also of the Aryan origin and were called so because they were the progeny of Diti, the sister of Aditi (the mother of Indra, the chief of the Gods). "Daitya" may be the term to designate a clan, *viz.*, the children of Diti, just as Heraclidae were the children of Heracles. But "Asura" which literally means "opposed to gods" is merely a title. Vana, a scion of the clan of the Daityas was called "Asura" as he was inimical towards Srikrishna. Similarly, Srikrishna's own uncle Kansa was called an "Asura" for his vicious proclivities. Naraka, son of the goddess Earth by Vishnu in the shape of Varaha, was styled Asura for similar reasons. But as we find Duryyodhana a pure Aryan Kshatriya marrying a princess of the family of Naraka and Srikrishna's grandson Aniruddha marrying Usha, the daughter of Vàna, we have a positive proof that these chiefs were not non-Aryans. The language of the locality must have been Sanskrit as will be evident from the following fact.

The remains of a long destroyed stone-building are still seen just close to the Deputy Commissioner's Court on the Brahmaputra.

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* Srijut Hemchandra Gosain, Extra Assistant Commissioner at Tezpur, an authority on the Assamese antiquities, gave me the folowing information:—The town was called and known as Sonitpur till the British occupation of the country. A certain Deputy Commissioner changed it into "Tezpur" to make it pure Assamese, it is said"!; As to the name Sonitpur the same gentleman writes: "According to local traditions a large number of people were killed in the battle that was fought between Vàna and Sri-Krishna so much so that the waters of the Brahmaputra became quite red with blood." This popular interpretation falls to the ground when we remember that the city had no name in the Purans referring to it before the battle in question was fought. It is the nature of the common people often to misinterpret a name and then invent what is called a folktale to support it.

This building was said to have been the fort of Vána. Whatever it might have been, only some blocks and columns and a few fragments of the cornices are now seen there, and of these later on. On one or two stone blocks I noticed numerical figures in Devanagara imprinted. Even now we find chalk or ink marks on wooden planks or iron bars of numerical figures in the mother language of the artisan, when such materials are to be fitted into some structure. This small fact shows that in those very remote period of antiquity the language of the people was Sanskritic, if not Sanskrit, besides throwing a side-light on the method of architecture or the skill of the masons in those far away distant days.

One column of the long destroyed building, which stands close to the Court, is particularly noticeable. On its broad side are carved some of the earlier Avatars of Vishnu and in the margin there are carved figures of animals. I was struck with the symmetry in these figures. The sculptor has also shown a bit of wit in representing his carved deer as scratching its nose with the hoof of one of its hind legs. Centuries, or probably millennia, have rolled away from the date when the building was constructed and time has worked its havoc; and we feel grateful to the Dispenser of all that some specimens of workmanship of so old a time are still spared to us. The manner however in which these columns or blocks of stones have been kept is highly objectionable. They have been left quite exposed to the destructive elements in nature—sunshine, wind and rains. Already the carvings on the column referred to have become abraded and a few years after the figures will be rendered perfectly indistinct.

A few blocks of carved cornices have been kept near the entrance of a bungalow on the Brahmaputra, and have, owing to exposure, become mossy. A very large number of these architectural remains is said to be buried beneath the various public buildings, e.g., the Deputy Commissioner's Court; and smaller pieces of stones have, I understand, been carried away by people of the town so that they now serve the purpose of steps near the door or of seats in bathing places, or even of foot-holds to reach the privy platform. The fate of these remains, a noble work of architecture, reminded me of the famous speech of Hamlet.

"To what base uses we may return Horatio! Why may not the imagination trace the noble dust of Alexander till he find it stopping a bunghole?

* * * *

> "Imperious Cæsar dead and turned to clay
> Might stop a hole to keep the wind away
> O that the earth which kept the world in awe
> Should patch a wall to expel the winter's flaw."
>
> —HAM. V. I.

I went to visit the ruins of another building on a hillock on the Brahmaputra close to the Saw-mill about a mile from the town; but there was nothing worth notice in the heaps of stones there.

I had not much time at my disposal to go and see everything, connected with Vàna and the story of his daughter's marriage with a grandson of Srikrishna. But the question arises "Is this the place really, where Vána of the legendary fame had his capital?" We are told that there is a locality in Northern Bengal where there is "Baurajangarh" still pointed out. This difficulty may however be easily surmounted by a supposition that the mighty king of Sonitpur might have extended his territory up to that locality. A writer in the *Hindustan Review* presents a greater difficulty. He says "that the Hindus cultivated close relations with foreigners is proved from the fact that . . . . . Anirudhi, grandson of Srikrishna, married the princess Ookha, daughter of Ban, king of Shoont which belonged to Egypt . . . . ." (*Hindustan Review*, August 1906. Mr. Harbilas Sarda's article headed "Hindu Civilization: a statement and a rejoinder").

Poor Assam! there seems to be a plot always to deprive her of the honour of possessing places of legendary fame. If she boasts of the whilom city of Kundina—the capital of Bhismaka, antiquarians would point to 'Bidar' in the Deccan as the modern substitute of the ancient Bidarbha; if any one points out the localities in her as connected with the story of Lakhindar and Bipula, hundred other places would then come out with similar traces. She does not seem to be in an undisturbed possession even of her Pragjyotishapur and her Naraka: for, in Chapter XLII of the Kishkindhyakanda of the Ramayan of Valmiki, we find the monkey-chief Sugriba charging the monkeys sent in the *Western direction* to search for Ravana and Sita in the following terms: " . . . . . In the midst of the deep sea—the abode of Baruna—you will see a great mountain having 64 Yojans of Golden peaks, where there is a city made of gold named Pragjyotishpur in which a wicked Danava named Naraka has his residence, look for Ravana with Sita there. . . ."

Surely the Pragjyotishpura in the western sea and the Shoont in Egypt were colonies that bore the name of the northern-cities in India and it was quite natural that some of their rulers should have had the names of distinguished kings in the original localities. If seven rival cities contended for the poet of the Iliad and the Odyssey after his death, then it is not quite unnatural that the heroes and heroines of the popular legend of Padmapuran should have several claimants throughout Bengal and Assam. But the claim of the Brahmaputra valley seems to be the strongest. The Naga Hills—the abode of the Nagas or the Serpents of Padma or Manasa lie closer to it; even the names of Chandradhar, Lakhindar, Bipula, &c., seem to be more Assamese than Bengali.

As to Bidarbha, a country can have more than one place with the same name; and so, in ancient India there was another Bidarbha in the south, as in modern India we find more than one Patna, Rampur and Haidarabad. The Mishmis who inhabit the locality formerly within the jurisdiction of the ruler of Kundina seem to have derived their name from Bhismaka—syllable 'ka' is merely ornamental and 'Bh' easily changed into the next letter of the labial barga; and the Chulikata Mishmis still attribute the custom of chopping their hair unlike others of the hill tribes, to the disgrace of a free shaving which Rukmi, son of Bhismaka, underwent at the hand of Srikrishna when that prince came to withstand the latter from carrying away Rukmini. In fact, the whole Brahmaputra valley is full of traditional marks of Srikrishna's advent thereto and I do not know if 'Bidar' can produce so much evidence to support its rival claims to the honour of being the territory of the father-in-law of the aforesaid Avatar.*

PROF. PADMANATH BHATTACHARYYA.

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* After my return from Tezpur I wrote a letter to Srijut Hemchandra Gosain enquiring if there were any accounts ever published of the ruins of Tezpur and asking for his opinion on my intended proposals about their preservation, viz., either to remove such archæological remains to the Calcutta Museum or to collect all such things together at a place like Gauhati in the Province and keep them under some state custody, and I quote below his reply on the points of my enquiry.

"I know there are ancient relics of unique interest around Tezpur, but so far as I know neither the Government nor the people had taken any interest in them. A whilom Deputy Commissioner of strong military propensities got most of the historic carvings buried under the ground with a view to make the fields of Tezpur look "more tidy" and I am sure that the last of such things would have been entombed in the breast of the mother earth long ago, had not Mr. Gait as the

Director of Ethnography raised his voice against such acts of vandalism. But as matters stand now I think it would have been an act of greater kindness to have them buried than to have them exposed to the tender mercy of the notoriously inclement weather of Assam. The ruins in and about Tezpur were described by Capt. Westmacott under the title headed "the charduar ruins" published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This article, I am told, appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal about half a century ago, and I had very little opportunity to see it.

"I am not in favour of the proposal of removing these things out of the province, as in that case poor Assam will be deprived of the last vestiges of her glorious past. I would certainly welcome the proposal of having them stored in a place somewhere within the valley, say at Gauhati, and I am prepared to do my utmost to help you in such an undertaking."

Bhatta Bhana : The Great Sanskrit Prose-Writer.

BY MR. T. S. VENKATARAMA AIYAR.

OF the few prose-writers who have adorned and enriched the Sanskrit Literature, the first and foremost comes Bhana, the well-known author of *Kadhambari, Harshacharitra*, and *Chandikasataka*. He derives his descent from the Vathsyayana race, his father being a brahmin Chitrabhanu who lived in the village Prithikuta close to the banks of the river Sona. This village must have been in a well-watered region of our country, surrounded everywhere by picturesque scenery; and when we bear in mind that, as a rule, all writers who have painted Nature as she is, are born and bred in those places where she draws herself at her full height and manifests herself with all her charm and elegance, with all her beauty and grandeur, undoubtedly Bana's native place must have been one where Nature had lavished all her rich bounties and showered all her choicest and rarest blessings. Leaving out of question the influence of his native-home, we come to fix his date which, as in the case of many Sanskrit writers, would have opened a volley of discussion, had it not been for the great Chinese traveller, Hiouen Thsang, who toured throughout India from 629 to 645 A. D. He relates that during his travels there was on the throne of Kanyakubhja (Modern Kanouj) a King named Holichaffa—tanna (in Sanskrit Harshavardhana) who was none other than Bhana's chief patron. This indisputably fixes the date of Bhana to the latter half of the 6th century or to the first half of the 7th century —a period which is useful in ascertaining, if not the exact dates, at least the *termini ad quem* of several writers mentioned by Bhana in his introduction to *Harshacharitra*.

It is pathetically true that in the Oriental literature critics are few and far between; and especially those who give us an impartial biography of the authors are rarer still. Therefore, usually, the lives of nearly all the Sanskrit writers are buried in the mists of obscurity. Almost all the editors and commentators were profuse in their praise of the authors and exaggerated their abilities, their power of thinking, and their faculty of expression to a very high degree. But they did not bestow even a little attention upon giving a true account of their lives.

Such being the case, we do not know through what phases of human life Bhana passed, how and in what manner his environments influenced his career and character and prepared him for the grand work of his life.

However, we gain a few glimpses of his life from his own version in his *Harshacharitra*, and from the recent investigations made in the field of Sanskrit research. It seems that in his boyhood Bhana was not of a good turn of mind. He had the misfortune of losing his dear mother in a very early age. This enables him to delineate the deep and intense longing of a child for maternal tenderness and care in its true colour and spirit. That he was independent, bold and courageous, defying high-handed authority exercised without rhyme or reason, is illustrated by the following story. Once when he was approaching with all formality and respect the royal personage of his patron, the latter happened to remark to one of his friends: "Here comes the deadly viper." At this, Bhana grew very angry and requested his majesty to explain the grounds on which he made such a random statement. Then the king's blood boiled but he was tongue-tied. No one but the bravest of the brave could have behaved so courageously before Oriental potentates whose whim and fancy was the absolute law.

Coming to his works, we find it is indisputably admitted on all hands that of all the prose-works extant in Sanskrit literature *Kadhambari* is the best in point of style, diction, majesty, beauty and flow. Its plot is the work of a consummate artist; in elegance and charm it may favourably be compared to the best poems this literature can boast of. It abounds in finest imagery, always providing the observant reader with much food for thought, and creating in him an earnestness, a pleasure and a sound taste for the literature of fairy yore. The reader's mind is inspired with its noble ideas, captivated by its sonorous style, and is carried away by its sweet melody which is the edifying characteristic of this old classical language. 'Variety is the spice of life.' On this principle alone, he changes his style as often as possible and refreshes the wearisome reader by the crystal fountains of simplicity found at regular intervals amidst the vast region of long-drawn description and monotony. At times he waxes eloquent; his style is as simple, as concise, as beautiful as possible. It is instinc-

with power; it breathes life; it carries force. It wakes up the spirits of a dull reader and breathes into him the breath of cheerfulness and vigour. Often, often he may disappoint, displease, repel us; but, now and then, he charms, interests, thrills and enslaves us. In short, he is both repelling and attractive; repelling in his large use of compound epithets and attractive in his diction and literary flavour.

In his descriptive power he yields to no writer, and perhaps one may safely assert that he is unrivalled and will be unrivalled. In his descriptions there is a wealth of detail but it is faultily superfluous. It is brilliantly impressionistic. Having a perfect command over the language, he knows how to make the best portrait of the things he had seen and felt. He is singularly happy in his descriptive phrases and expressions. His artistic skill in painting the common place sides of every day human life shows him to be a writer of no common order. Here he has lavished all the fullness of his observation, all the wealth of his intellect and all the wisdom of a Solomon. He has carefully delineated all the obstacles and difficulties that one has to face in the general storm and stress of life. His pictures are bright, vivid and suggestive, and display "such a Bacchic reel, rout and revelry as makes one staggered and giddy." His description of the cities and hermitages, the careful portraiture of Royal assemblies with all their oriental grandeur and magnificence, Sukanasa's advice to Chandrapida, the fascinating picture of Dravida Dharmika—all are masterly sketches from a master-hand. His nature-painting is equally grand. "Nature is to every human soul what that soul makes her to be. To the soul that can perceive it, she is an infinite wonder, a teacher whose lessons are new every morning and fresh every evening, a never-failing fountain of joy and inspiration." She was all this to Bhana and all her different phases are his play-things. He sports with the moon. He dances among the stars. He exults at sunrise. He dabbles his fingers with the dayfall. He makes mischief with the trees and causes their tops to kiss the azure vault above. In fact, like Shelley, "he stands in the lap of patient nature and twines after a hundred wilful fashions to see how she will look nicest" in the story.

One of his chief characteristics is that whether he writes in

verse or prose his ideas are always those of the poet. They are all pictured ideas and can never fail to blaze through the voluminous folds of expression. He never suffers from want of words and observes to the very letter the rule that the quality of Ojus which consists in the abundance of epithets and words is the very life of prose. He is well-versed in the art of using what are called in Sanskrit 'Vakthrokthis or crooked sayings' Some apophthegms also he uses, some little pearls scattered through his sententious lines. In imagination he can well nigh equal the Indian Shakespeare, Kalidasa, and even to the commonest object his imaginative mind imparts the glow of imagery. His figures and similitudes are generally original, not second-hand. But above all, he is preeminently the representative writer of his age. In this we are greatly indebted to him. A man of wide thinking, of sufficient knowledge in a variety of subjects, a man of respectful position at the royal court, we find reflected in his writings the usages and customs of his age, its sentiments and feelings, its progress and civilization. In his tirade against Sati, he voiced the feeling of the enlightened men of his day.

Prof. Weber says: " This work compares most unfavourably with *Dasakumaracharita* in its large use of long compounds " etc. This is one prime fault in his beautiful works. He frequently makes use of unmeaning puns that mar the sweetness of his production. Having exhausted in it all the beautiful ideas and sentiments he sometimes condescends to revel in absurd and inconsistent ideas. For instance, in his description of a hermitage he pictures the long beards of the sages as steps wherewith one can ascend to Heaven.

But, whatever may be his faults and failures, these sink into insignificance when compared with his high attainments and profound scholarship. Indeed, Bhana was a great man; he was a great thinker. He widened the intellectual horizon of his time, fostered a spirit of reverence and love to God, and preached truth and morality. His work was one of love. He pitied the poor and respected the rich. He marks an era in the Sanskrit letters. The old classical tongue, the mother of many flourishing tongues of the present

day, never has found, since the great Bhana fell asleep, a worthy man to take his place, a noble soul who can give life to her, and galvanise her to fresh activity and production.

T. S. VENKATARAMAN.

The Epics of India and Greece.

THE RAMAYANA AND THE ODYSSEY.

BY MR. THOMAS C. RICE, B. A.

HAVING concluded our exposition of the points in which we believed we saw likeness and difference in the Mahabharata and the Iliad, we solicit our readers' patience while we continue the comparison to the analogous epics of the Ramayana and the Odyssey. The two poems are equally narratives of adventures; but in as much as the Greeks were islanders, living in the neighbourhood of the sea, their knowledge and experience had been confined during the heroic age within a narrower portion of the earth's surface than those of the Aryan Indians, whose purview extended over the whole of the Indian Peninsula. The story of the adventures is in one case that of navigators who had visited lands separated by tracts of Ocean, whose geographical position was imperfectly known, and whose tales appeared credible as reporting manners belonging, as it were, to another world. In the other case the story of wanderings extends over pathless forests, luxuriant with dense tropical vegetation. Ulysses' wanderings extended over the islands and shores of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic; those of Rama over a considerable portion of the Indian Peninsula from Ayodhya to Lanka. Ulysses was absent from home twenty years, ten of which he spent in adventures by sea; Rama was an exile fourteen years. The experiences of Ulysses were of a more exciting character than those of Rama who spent thirteen and a half years in the monotonous life of the hermitages of the rishis without any dangerous encounter even with the wild beasts of an Indian forest. Ulysses being of human mould, we are more in sympathy with his dangers and sufferings for we are not sure whether he will come out victorious from them. But in the adventures in which the divine hero is engaged the issue of the contest is so certain that its details become of little interest. In spite of these contrasts, we may notice parallels in the two stories to show that when the poems were composed men's minds in both lands were stirred by curiosity to know what lay beyond their narrow limits, and fain to be satisfied with any narrative rather

than remain in ignorance. Ulysses' adventures with the Cyclops bear a close resemblance to those of Rama with the monster Kabandha (Ram. III, 70.) The rational explanation of both is that they refer in poetical language to extinct volcanic mountains whose craters were occupied by circular lakes. The iron-faced giantess Ayomukhi in the same canto finds her counterpart in the Greek myth of Scylla. The entertainment provided by the sage Bharadwaja at Prayaga for the army of Bharata is like that set forth by the enchantress Circe before Ulysses and his companions. The gorgeous feast produced by magic by the Indian sage with the enchanted palaces and tents, the myriads of dancing girls and the other creations of a rich imagination picture before us a splendid panorama. The imagination of the poet of the Odyssey does not soar half so high when he creates the palace with its furniture of the enchantress Circe, the corresponding scene in the Greek epic; but Circe had only to supply the wants of the sailors in a few vessels that accompanied Ulysses, while Bharadwaja had to entertain a whole city of a hundred thousand inhabitants at least. The exclamation of the Ayodhyans, "We will not go forward into the wilderness of Dandaka, nor will we go back to the city of Ayodhya" is on a level with the sentiments of some of Ulysses' crew, who got among the Lotos-eaters, and having eaten their bread, forgot home, wife, parents and children, and were determined to stay in the enchanted land for ever, till they had to be dragged away by force by the others. The provisions set before the Ayodhyans consisted of spirituous liquors, venison, peacocks, partridges, mutton and pork roasted on ivory spits; but these tabooed luxuries were only for the non-Brahmin castes. The Brahmins were separately provided with porridge made of rice, milk, sugar and spices, with lakes of butter-milk three hours old and white curds. The articles of toilet and dress give us an idea of early civilisation. There were tooth-picks, mirrors, shoes, combs and betel. The custom indicated by the last had already taken firm root from one end of India to the other, from Ravana's capital in Ceylon to Ayodhya on the Gogra.

Though in these respects the analogy between the Ramayana and the Odyssey is apparent, there are scenes in the former which recall to mind rather those of the Iliad. The abduction of Helen

by Paris has its analogue in the forcible seizure of Sita by Ravana bearing in mind however the difference that whereas Helen willingly consented to the elopement, Sita's capture was an act of violence and outrage. In these and numerous other instances, the contrast between the Greek and Indian ideas of the sanctity of the marriage vow is very clearly established. The siege of Lanka and the single combats before its walls between the foremost champions of each party, ending in the duel between Rama and Ravana and the fall of the latter, bear a close resemblance to the fights between the chief warriors of the Greeks and Trojans before Troy, these combats coming to a conclusion with the fall of Hector by the hand of Achilles. Again, we have to note the difference that when the Greeks took Troy, they set fire to the city, sparing neither man, woman nor child. The Indian hero merely installed the brother of the deceased monarch on the throne and retired to his own country with his wife whom he had come to rescue.

I. The *myths* as regards origin in the poetical works of the two nations are closely analogous. Griffiths, the English translator of the Ramayana, points out the resemblance between the birth of Sita out of a field furrow and that of the Greek warrior Eristheus (Il. II).

> "The people of Eristheus, whom Jove-sprung Pallas fed,
> And plenteous-feeding Tellus brought out of her flowery bed." *

Gorresio, the Italian editor of the Ramayana, is of opinion that "the whole story of Sita has a great analogy to the myth of Proserpine." The story of the birth of Shri or Lakshmi may be compared to the similar myth of the birth of Venus out of the sea foam.

The *epithet* applied to Siva, "the trident-bearing," would at once point to his analogy to the Greek god Neptune whose weapon was also the trident. It is vain, from a single point of resemblance to come to any conclusion as to their origin; considering also that Indra, the lord of the storm, has the title "town destroyer" applied to him, which in Greek mythology does not belong to Zeus, the corresponding deity, but to Ares who is the "city-raser".

The hierarchy of heaven is composed of the same deities

* Chapman's Translation.

according to the Odyssey as already described in the Iliad. We have noticed that in the heroic age in India the Vedic deities, Indra, Surya, Agni and the other personifications of natural objects and forces had sunk to the status of inferior deities; the Indian population were gradually dividing themselves into two distinctly opposed sects, the worshippers of Siva and Vishnu. The cleavage had only just begun to show itself when the Ramayana assumed its present shape; there is just a faint indication of the opposition of the two sects in the collision between Parasu Rama and Rama, the son of Dasaratha, and the personal predilection of the author is apparent from his giving the palm of victory to the latter. (a) In inquiring, with such slender bases to found a theory upon, into these problems of antiquity, it is with the greatest diffidence that we can lay down any geographical locality for the two worships; as for instance, to give to the one a North Indian, and to the other a South Indian origin, or to go boldly further and trace the one across the sea while assigning to the other an indigenous Aryan origin. It is certain that the worship of the phallus was connected more with South India than with the north; it is also apparent that this worship is allied in practice with that of Siva; and there is evidence that Rama, the son of Dasaratha, who is the impersonation of the Vishnu worship, tried to conciliate his Vanar allies by giving his countenance to the public worship, as is evident from the public emblem set up in the temple of Rama at Rameswaram.

II The progress of civilisation among the Greeks, as revealed in the Odyssey, was superior to what it was in the time of the Iliad. The contact with the East had introduced much material comfort and luxury, but still very much less than what we read of in the courts of King Dasaratha at Ayodhya and of Ravana at Lanka. The picture of Menelaus' palace and that of King Alcinous of Schaeria may be compared with that of the two Indian Kings, also representing two distinct phases of civilisation. The famous garden of Alcinous was laid out with the same art as the Asoka garden of Ravana. We have to make allowance for the difference of climate and vegetation. Alcinous' garden was magnificent with fruit trees of different kinds, apples, pomegranates, figs, pears and

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(a) "'Twas seen how Siva's bow had failed, when Vishnu's might assailed."
Griffith's *Ram* : I. 75.

grapes. The fondness for gardening among the Greeks is also shown in the occupation in which the aged father of Ulysses employed himself. This narrative also shows us the simplicity of life among the early Greek Kings of a previous generation. The famous Asoka garden gets its name from one of the gayest of Indian forest trees. Of the palace of Alcinous it is said that the walls were of brass, the cornice of blue metal (cyanus); there were folding doors, silver pillars on brazen bases and the ringlets of the doors were of gold. There were two rows of sculptured dogs in gold and silver. There were pedestals with boys moulded in gold standing on them, bearing torches. We ought not to dismiss all this as the mere fruits of a luxuriant imagination. There is poetical embellishment of course, but a great deal of substantial truth at bottom. The art of sculpturing is of very early origin. The gorgeous mouldings and sculptures in the temple of Solomon (cir. B. C. 1005) (b), built by workmen from Tyre, equalled anything the Greek poet could conceive. The Phæacians, the subjects of Alcinous, were a race of navigators, and a picture is given of the busy scenes in their dockyards, the building and caulking of the ships, the making of the sails and the shaping of the oars. Against this we may set the account given in the Ramayana of the palace of Ravana. He also was the King of an island and we may fancy to ourselves similar scenes of activity on the shores of his kingdom. The aerial chariot in which Ravana travelled we must conceive to have been a good-sized ship, and the Rakshasas with the heads of asses that propelled it is the poetical symbol for the hooded sailors that navigated the ship. If this conjecture is correct, we must necessarily imagine that the return journey of Rama was done by sea; that he coasted along the shores of the coromandel, entered the Ganges at its mouth and so made his way up the river and its tributary to Ayodhya.

The palace of Ravana is described as a most magnificent place and the amount of refinement and luxury prevailing there is astonishing for the time. The city of Lanka was surrounded by a deep moat with a drawbridge, as in the barons' castles in Europe in the middle ages, fitted with a trap-door contrivance. Beyond the

(b) I. Kings, I. 7.

moat, there were seven walls, one within another, each built of a different metal, representing the seven heavenly bodies. Talboys Wheeler points out the similarity between these walls and those of Ekbatana as described by Herodotus. Within the city there were ponds, lakes, artificial gardens, thoroughfares, high places of music, arsenals, stables, streets adorned with gems of every colour, beautiful houses and large bazaars. The severity of the penal laws was such that no attempt was made at robbery. From the description of the poet Lanka seems to have been a cosmopolitan city; men of all races were thronged there, from the ugly hideous-looking aborigines, to exceedingly handsome men clothed in great splendour. The situation of Ceylon, and its pearl fisheries must have made it exceedingly rich as an emporium of commerce towards the west and east. The modern Colombo with its heterogeneous population probably bears some resemblance to Lanka. All this magnificence, strange as it may seem, passed away altogether before historic times. The exclamation of Hanuman shows how the great problem of the distribution of prosperity and adversity in this world was solved by the moralist of those days: "Surely this Ravana must have been a very virtuous man in his former life, and on this account enjoys so much wealth in his present life." The wall of the King's Palace were of gold set with precious stones; the gates were formed of diamonds and were guarded by eunuchs; the floor was of black crystal. When the bells sounded the third quarter of the night, the music began to play. Making every allowance for the rhetorical language of the poet, the city must have struck a visitor as unusually splendid. The sensuous enjoyment of life is depicted in the soft sound of the tabors that came from the latticed windows, the ankles' chime and the tinkling zones of the damsels dancing in the palace. Meanwhile the visitor heard the murmurings of text and prayer; he saw the priests with tonsured heads, crowds clothed in the skins of deer and kine "whose only arms where blades of grass and holy flame." The palace was guarded by she-demons; there was the statue of Lakshmi holding a lotus. The question before us now is whether the poet has ascribed to the Rakshasas Aryan customs, just as Homer has attributed to the Trojans those of the Greeks, or whether we have here a picture of foreign civilisation introduced

into Ceylon from beyond the sea. The former is the opinion of authorities; but there are differences of manners between the Rakshasas and the Indian Aryans which seem to favour another view. The employment of Amazon warriors would point to Ethiopia as the home of this civilisation. We imagine that the image which the poet has taken for the statue of Lakshmi was the image of Isis, who was usually represented holding a globe in her hand with a vessel full of ears of corn. She also appears with the lotus on her head and the sistrum in her hand. (c) The heads of her priests were closely shaved, they walked bare-footed and during the night (d) were employed in continual devotion near the statue of the goddess The free use of wine also marks a point of contrast between the Aryans and the Rakshasas. The aborigines of the Dekkan, the Vanars and the Bear and Vulture tribes, were not akin to the Rakshasas, for there was bitter enmity between them; nor were the Dravidians of the same origin, for the Tamulians readily accepted the superior civilisation and the religious teaching introduced among them by the sage Agastya, whereas the Rakshasas violently opposed the sacrificial rites and the monkish spirit of the immigrants from the north.

The representation of Ravana with ten heads is a subject for scorn and ridicule among the unthinking and a great puzzle to the thoughtful; but if we enter into the true spirit of these ancient myths, they need be neither. The idea is evidently symbolical; but according to Socrates, to attempt to interpret such symbolisms "is the province of a very curious, painstaking and not very happy man". (e) It is also possible that this picturing may be the poet's mode of objectively realising his conception of the Sublime and the Terrible. Surveying the wide field of mythology and religious symbolisms we note that the Lernæan Hydra, destroyed by Hercules had nine heads; * and just in the same way as with Ravana's, no sooner was one of these cut off than others sprang up to take its place. The dog Cerberus that guarded the mouth of Hell is said by the poets to have had three heads. Brahma is

(c) Penny Cycl: *Isis.*
(d) Lempreire's *Class: Dict:*
(e) Phædrus. 7.
* According to some authors he had 100, according to others 50, heads.

represented with four-heads; he originally had five, but one of them was burnt off by the fire of Siva's eye. In the prophecy of Daniel (VII): "After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly, and it had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces and stamped the residue with the feet of it; and it had *ten horns*". In the book of Revelation (XIII. 1.): "And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having *seven heads and ten horns* and upon his horns ten crowns." The number ten of the heads of Ravana, occurs in Hindu mythology (1) in the ten Manus, and the ten sages that represented them, (2) the five senses with their correlative preceptions, (3) the ten incarnations of Vishnu, (4) the five elements and their corresponding powers (f) Gathering together what is common in all these ideas, we may say that the poet's intention in giving ten heads to Ravana was probably to invest him with the attributes of universal and absolute power. It is to be noticed that only Ravana has ten heads. The other Rakshasas of his tribe, his sister Surpa-nakha and his brothers are all human in limbs and features. (g) With the name *Desa-mukha* the ten-faced, given to Ravana, it may be well to compare the title *Desmuk*, given in old times in the Dekkan to the lord of a hundred villages.

Turning to another phase of civilisation among people of another stock, in one case of another race, let us compare the palace of Menelaus, the King of Sparta, with that of Dasa-ratha at Ayodhya. The Greek King after the capture and sack of Troy had evidently been engaged for a period of about nine or ten years in a series of piratical expeditions, along the shores of Syria and Egypt and down the Red Sea, coasting along both shores; for it would seem that before the fifth century, B. C., there was water communication between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea by a canal large enough to be navigated by ships of small burden. The palace of Menelaus was therefore more gorgeous than the homely and more primitive dwellings of Ulysses and Nestor. Homer merely tells us that in

(f) In the ten Categories of Aristotle, intended to include all thinkable things, there is the same idea of universality implied; also in the ten points of the compass.

(g) Except Tri-siras (the three-headed); according to Dowson (Class: Dict:) representing the three stages of fever; heat, cold, and sweating.

the palace of Menelaus there were many rooms ; the roof of the hall dazzled with decorations ; there was inlaid ivory work, and it was studded with amber. The Queen Helen sat down on a seat which was carried to its place by a maid-servant ; beneath it another attendant had spread a beautiful carpet. A basket held the wool for her and she held in her hand a distaff. Her clothes were scented with fragant perfumes. The guests who visited the King slept in a portico. Quantities of wool, made into a mattress were spread, and rich coverlets laid on the heap. Again in the palace of Ulysses when the Queen Penelope went out to the hall of the palace a seat was carried before her by one of the maids and deposited in its place. The seat was of *ivory*, which must have gone from India. It was furnished with ringlets for lifting up ; there was a foot-stool also of ivory, plated with silver ; a panther's hide was thrown on the seat. There were folding doors with engraved work on them ; the use of spring locks, bolts, brass keys, and latches raised and lowered by cords with rings attached, appears to have been known.

A picture of a day of revel in the royal palace at Ithaca in the absence of the king may be drawn from the scenes described in the Odyssey. The flayed skins of the oxen that had been slaughtered for the previous night's repast were stretched out in the courtyard in front of the palace. On these the suitors of the Queen sat and occupied their leisure in games of chess. The reference to chess here and to gaming with dice in the courts in Northern India point to a game which must have been very much alike. References are made to a chess-board and movable pieces in the Mahabharata. While the suitors were engaged in the game, the tables were laid out in a great open court, apparently with no shelter overhead. The tables were in one long row, and the guests sat on one side of them in the order of their recognised rank. Plain roast meat and bread were the chief articles of food. Great attention was paid to the washing of the hands before meals, as in India. The attendants brought round basins made of metal into which the maids poured clear water from ewers. These vessels are said to have been

(h) In the game between Sita and Rama described in the Ramayana the board and the *dice* were made of ivory, and the *balls* of gold. The game must have been played very differently from now.

of silver and gold, but this may be only a poetical hyperbole. The guests sat at the tables on benches with their feet resting on foot-stools, and after washing their hands they fell to. The rioters poured no libations to the gods, as the men like Nestor belonging to an older generation were careful to do. In the roasting of the meat no sort of care seems to have been taken to remove the objectionable parts; for one of the suitors pelted the king, who was present at the feast in the disguise of a beggar, with an ox's hoof. A great goblet of wine stood at the head of the table next the most noble guest. It was drawn off in cups and served to the feasters in order of rank. After the feast the minstrel was called in, who was considered as an inspired being and always one of the members of the household. The bards sang songs of the heroes of old, and this custom lets us into the origin of the old heroic poems. In the evening love lyrics were sung and there was dancing till the hour of sleep. There was no daintiness or cleanliness in the feeding. The animals were slaughtered, flayed, roasted over the fire and eaten in the same apartment, or in apartments opening into one another; or else, in sacred open places. The sight of the slaughter and the rude operation of the primitive cooking do not seem to have spoiled the appetites of the consumers. Food and drink were indulged in quantities which would appear appalling to the people of these days. "A kid's fat entrails enriched with blood" was considered a luxury. In the night the hall of the palace was lighted up with the resinous wood of the fir-tree heaped up in bowls. The maids had to attend to the fires, remove the ashes and pile on more wood.

We now turn to scenes of more refinement, more humane manners and a later and higher stage of culture in Northern India. The ancient city of Ayodhya is described in its most prosperous days. Civilisation had reached a high level. It had reached the level it had attained in Europe before gun-powder and the printing press revolutionised men's ideas and gave to intellect a preponderance over physical force; and before that other epoch, the beginning of the nineteenth century, when coal, steam and electricity came to be applied to minister to the physical welfare of the human race. The immense multitude that occupied the city of Ayodhya and followed Bharata to Chitrakuta included men of

every craft practised in a highly civilised community; there were husband-men, potters, jewellers, weavers, tanners, carpenters, workers in gems, glass and ivory, goldsmiths, wool-manufacturers, physicians, distillers, fullers, tailors and fishermen; besides garland-sellers, tamers of peacocks, snake-charmers, perfumers, bathmen and male and female dancers. The King's palace was gay with parrots and peacocks. There were five courts surrounding the King's palace. The interior apartment of the palace was guarded by aged men, armed with staves, clad in mail and wearing turbans. The heir apparent's palace stood apart. The outer apartment was guarded by young men adorned with bright earrings; the private chambers by aged men dressed in red, with canes in their hands. Rama's palace had folding doors, a hundred gemmed and coralled porticoes adorned with golden statues, an inlaid floor and sculptured wolves in gold for ornament. Rama sat on his couch of gold, from which a covering of brocade hung down. The most interesting and characteristic feature of the Kshatriya Raja's palace was the "chamber of displeasure" to which the aggrieved Rani Kaikeyi, the youngest, most beautiful and the best beloved of the four wives of the Raja, had retired in a huff because her wishes had not been attended to. A warder maid guarded the door. Her necklace of priceless pearls and rich jewelling of gold begemmed with precious stones lay scattered about the floor, which the angry queen had flung away in a fit of temper. Her favourite maid, the deformed Manthara, had on a golden chain with links of the finest gold, a frontlet of gold and two lovely robes, all gifts from her mistress. Her garments were scented with sandal. In the city of Ayodhya holy fig-trees were planted where cross-ways met, there were the shrines and temples of the gods; on occasions of ceremony like the anticipated installation of Rama the streets were watered, the merchants' shops displayed gay banners and ribbons in decoration, trees were erected in each street to bear lamps and the flower sellers' bazaars were scenes of active business, In the palace, of a morning, the bards and eulogists assembled; the noise was heard of those who declared the great deeds of the Maharaja and clapped their hands in harmony. The Brahmans filled the palace with the music of the Vedas; the men-servants brought water in golden jars, mixed with fragrant yellow sandal-wood; young damsels

brought articles of food. Incidental mention is made among the practices of the times of renowned orators being surrounded by applauding audiences. This reminds one of the days of Demosthenes at Athens (350 B. C.) and of Cicero in Rome (50 B. C.) Young damsels adorned with gold flocked to the gardens

III. No details of a marriage ceremony are given us in the Odyssey. When Telemachus visited Menelaus at Sparta, arrangements were in preparation for despatching his daughter with rich gifts to Phthia to be the bride of Achilles' son. This marriage had been arranged by the father on diplomatic grounds during the siege of Troy. His natural son was also married at the same time. All that is stated is that a choir of girls escorted the bride to the nuptial chamber. In the great hall, a bard, who usually figured at every entertainment sang heroic lays and two youths performed a dance. Much freedom seems to have been allowed to the girls in the choice of their future husbands. The princess Nausicaa of Phæacia is not censured for thinking about her own marriage. The custom of choosing the most stalwart warrior for a husband appears in the narrative of the old bow of Ulysses being produced and the suitors being required to establish their claim by stringing the weapon. This same custom is mentioned both in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana; in the one case Draupadi and in the other Sita is bestowed on the ablest warrior judged by this test. The usage as to the disposal of widows among the Greeks is clearly indicated in the Odyssey. In the early times, in the Vedic and Heroic ages in India, the custom of the burning of widows with the corpses of their husbands was unknown. The wives of Dritarashtra were not immolated, nor were those of Dasaratha. It is said that some of the wives of Ravana were burnt alive on the funeral pile of their husband (h); and as for the sake of amusement, young men and maidens repaired in swift chariots to the grassy plains. This freedom given to young females was the original Aryan custom, for we find it among the Phæacians; the daughter of the King with her female attendants goes to wash the family linen in the public cistern, the princess herself taking the reins and guiding the mules to the washing place. Here they employ their leisure while the clothes are drying in a

(h) Dowson's *Dict. of Hindu Myth*; art. *Ravana*

game of ball, tossing the ball from one to another. We read that at this time the princess was of marriageable age. After the fall of Ravana Rama gave command that his wife Sita should be brought to him without her veil, passing through the assembled crowds of soldiers and townspeople. He correctly declared that "a woman's guard is not her bower, fenced town or lofty wall; her conduct is her best defence. At holy rites her face unveiled a dame may show as at the "Maiden's Choice" (g) To those unacquainted with the peculiar turn that the Aryan civilisation has taken in India there would be nothing remarkable in this decision, but it struck those present as a deliberate intention to insult and dishonour Sita; and the subsequent scene of cruel wrong can be accounted for only by the pernicious effusion of Mahometan ideas into the old Aryan culture. Menelaus made no objection to taking back Helen, though in this case, the lady was wantonly unfaithful; Rama was cruelly unjust to an afflicted and injured woman who was perfectly innocent.

(To be continued.)

THOMAS C. RICE.

(g) Griffith's Ramayana, BK. VI.

Leonardo Da Vinci—the Painter-Chemist.

By Mr. Pestanji Dorabji Khandalavala.

"For oh, this world and the wrong it does:
"They are safe in heaven with their backs to it,
"The Michaels and Rafaels, you hum and buzz,
"Round the works of, you of the little wit!"

It was the second half of the fifteenth century, that happy age, in which humanity, awakening from its long and profound sleep began a new life, and when the brilliant butterfly broke from its chrysalis a multi-coloured joy. The majority of the great inventions which will ever be the amazement of generations came to be inaugurated then. No wonder that such a glorious epoch, encompassed with a splendid aureole of what may be not unfinished lights, should have passed on to future ages. In such a happy time the art of printing was discovered so indelibly engraved with grateful remembrance in the history of humanity. "Thanks to printing", says Lamartine, with unequalled exactitude. "we are all contemporaries, for it has suppressed time, even as steam has annulled space."

His Birth.

At such a time the illustrious Leonardo da Vinci saw the light of day and pursued the glory of immortalising his name in various departments of thought, worthily figuring specially in the history of Science and of the Fine Arts. In a country-seat not far from beautiful Florence, he was born in 1452. His master was the celebrated Andrea Verruchio. Artistic Florence, which has had the glory of being the nucleus, whence sprang the zephyrs of the Renaissance in Arts and where are to be seen the traces of the magnificence of the Medicis and the genius of the immortal Michael Angelo, was also the land of inspiration of Da Vinci, and where his dreamy mind was able to forge these titanic ideas, which in the heat of his imagination took body and life. Painter, engineer, architect and chemist: one sees here those chaste conceptions, displaying his exceptional and illustrious intelligence. A great Italian writer has very justly observed that Vinci carried the torch of criticism to all the branches of science and has given the most

exact and philosophical rules for arriving at ascertaining the causes of natural phenomena.

His Art.

He proclaimed experience as a unique and sure guide and stuck to it for ever. No marvel that with such a standard he came to realise great wonders. He was nominated Director of the Academy of Painting and of Architecture of Milan. This office he filled for some time and left the city on the conquest of the Duchy of Milan by Louis XII and went to Rome where he hardly found protection. He turned his face to France, where he was enthusiastically welcomed by the Court of Francis I, who overwhelmed him with kindness and distinctions. Leonardo's art was weighted with more of the meaning of nature and purpose of humanity. Stand we facing a picture of his, a great ideal of beauty that he has come to realise, despite his pale colouring and his sketches perhaps a little incorrect, but full of a curious beauty arrived at by refining upon the world of common forms? A modification comes over our nature, just as we are affected with a special, a unique impression of pleasure, by the virtue of a wine, a gem or a herb. This is due to his great nicety of disengaging beauty from the common elements with which it my be found combined. His open heart tuned by nature developed in him that strange mystical sense by which, "he sees into the life of things." He brooded over the hidden virtues of plants and crystals, over the orbits of the stars and over the due relations which exist between the different order of living things, through which they interpret each other. Following his own precept,

Setu Sarai Solo, Tu Sarai Tutto Tuo.

—if thou will be alone, thou will be wholly thine—he listened to the voice of silence, realising that if "heard melodies are sweet, those unheard are sweeter." But apart from these we meet in his works with ideas of sufficient interest for the history of Chemistry, which prove that he was no alien to those useful studies, which at the time were mostly in an elementary state. And the merit of his ideas is all the more great since they bear the stamp of originality and invention. Poring over his crucibles, experimenting with colours, he seemed a sorcerer, not bent so much on discovering the philosopher's stone, as seeking immortality for the subtlest and most delicate effects of painting. The somewhat exact ideas on

combustion of the illustrious Florentine artist are such, that modern chemical science has but corroborated and enlarged them. So singular were his talents, that they could not be locked up within the limits of a given order of studies and the scintillations of his genius went illuminating extensive and obscure horizons of multifarious knowledge pertaining to diverse order of ideas. He seemed possessed of curious secrets and a hidden lore, living in a world of which he alone possessed the key. For him to have said that fire incessantly destroys the air which feeds it, means that he knew, or held almost exact notions as to what combustion is and to explain which there exist diverse theories. His theory of the flame of a candle marks him as the forerunner of Faraday. According to him life can synthetically be defined as an uninterrupted series of combustions, as also multitude of facts offered by organic nature. The wine transformed into vinegar, the high-coloured canvass slowly fading into colourless shade, the principal acids turning sweet, in short a multitude of such manifestations are due to combustion.

His Philosophy.

What his Philosophy seems to have been most like is that of John Baptista Porta, of Paracelsus and of Cardan. There hangs about it much of the spirit of the alchemy of old, the higher study and knowledge of nature—clairvoyance, divining the sources of springs underneath the earth, or of expression behind the human countenance—the deep research into her hidden powers, those occult and mysterious laws which constitute the ultimate essence of every element. His life was a mystery, and what does not lift quite from it is much more so when he is 31—the year of Raphael's birth—the year of his visit to Milan where Ludovico Sforza reigns, the murderer of his young nephew by slow poison. His fame has gone before him and he offers to tell Sforza strange secrets in the art of war for a price. He goes there not as an artist at all, but as a musician, a player on the harp—a strange one of silver, of his own making, modelled in some curious likeness to a horse's skull. Susceptible to, "une flute invisible soupire dans les vergers"—an invisible flute sighing in the orchards, Duke Ludovico falls under the spell of Leonardo's voice and visage—the heritage of a love-child—strong enough to balance the disadvantage of birth playing about him. The beauty of his boyhood clings to him and he fascinates as he walks the streets, fond odd

bright dresses and spirited horses. His physical strength too endears him to the fair, for he can bend a horseshoe like a coil of lead. The "Modern Spirit" was coming on and the fifteenth century is as much the nurse of the Renaissance as of realism appealing to experience. The one was a return to antiquity, the other a return to nature. Raphael represents the first, Leonardo, the second.

PESTANJI DORABJI KHANDALAVALA.

S. I. R.—A Poem.

By Mr. M. D. Daniel, B. A.

SAFE within the Train,
Facing proud again
Towards our Jennai Town
Famed for graduate-gown,
Brahmins, Neechas bold,
Babes, the young and old
Throng its common homes,
Pretty wooden domes,
Lo! the train cheered,
And the station cleared,
Merrily do we speed
Whistling o'er the mead,
While the birds above
And the beasts that love
Grass to eat and live
Explanations give—
What this monster be
That so franticly
Shakes good mother earth:
"A prodigious birth
Wasting all her mounts,
Parching all her founts,
Filling heaven with smoke,
Killing lives for joke;
A most om'nous birth
Of Desolat'n and Dearth!
Yet, this thing we dread,
(Lowing, puffing tho'
Like a buffalo)
But a milliped,
Swollen in this age
Of wonders that engage
Our bewildered sense,
Lacks the impudence
E'er to stretch its length
And to show its strength
O'er that Hillandsea *
The Land of Charity.

Chorus.

Now we know this rogue to shun,
We can fly, and we can run
Quickly to that green earth's end
And remain where we wend."
Gabbled so the silly birds,
Echoed low the hungry herds,
But the Train swept along
Like an angel stout and strong
Pealing proud in accents free:
"Fly to hill or run to sea,
I will march o'er Hillandsea
Soon to honour Charity."

*Malayalam—Land between hill and sea.

"The Morality of the Ramayana"—A Review.

By Mr. T. Sadasiva Aiyar, B. A., M. L.

WHEN I read the article on the above subject by my friend, Mr. Ponnambalom Pillai, in the last issue of the *Malabar Quarterly Review*, an article to which the Editor was pleased to give the leading place in the Magazine, I rubbed my eyes to see that I was not dreaming. I know that the late lamented Mr. Sundaram Pillai, whom I and numerous others used to admire at a distance, had some queer notions about the uselessness of the Sanskrit Vedas, the utter unimportance of intonations in the pronunciation of Mantras, and about the character and signification of Monkeys and Rakshasas in the Ramayana. But even he seemed to have been unwilling or ashamed to publish the crude ideas about the morality of the Ramayana which have now been resuscitated from his manuscripts by Mr. Ponnambalom Pillai and others; or perhaps the learned professor had become doubtful in his ripe manhood of the validity of his criticisms and the utility of publishing them. Those who, like myself, cherish his memory with affection and admiration as a Tamil scholar and antiquarian, a thinker of great originality and a facile wielder of the English tongue, cannot but be pained at this unnecessary publication of his views about the Ramayana after his death.

I am not going to refute the logic and the conclusions of the article. Professor Sundaram Pillai was, I admit, a great and good man, and my friend, Mr. Ponnambalom Pillai, is, no doubt, a worthy disciple of the deceased scholar. But their greatness when compared with Sree Ramachandra's is as a farthing rush-light to the Sun in his mid-day glory, and their opinions of Sree Rama cannot, of course, affect Sree Rama, who must, no doubt, be greatly amused by His children's prattle about Him. He may be even right glad that some of His children remember and pronounce His Holy Name even if they raise their voices against that name in puny anger and irritation. Valmiki's and Thulasi Das' and Kamban's Ramayanams will not cease to be read and admired by countless future generation to their moral and spiritual benefit as their works have been read in the past; Kabir Das and Ram Das are not going to lose their places in the list of God's Holy Saints; our

people from Maharajas down to the humblest menial classes are not going to publish in the next Gazette that they have changed their names from Rama Varma, Ram Chunder Gose, Rama Prasad, Rama Iyer, or Rama Pulaya to Ravana Prasad, Ravana Iyer etc., the Malayalis are not going to substitute the reading of "Milestones from Tamil History" for the reading of Ezhuthacchan's Ramayana at their Sambandhom ceremonies, and the Northern Hindus are not going to drop the national greeting of "Ram, Ram," when they meeth each other, and the Ramkrishna Mission is not going to call itself the Rakshasa Kamsa Mission; and people are not going to discard Rama Nama as a Tharaka Manthram; none of those things is going to happen owing to the attacks of Professor Sundaram Pillai and Mr. Ponnambalom Pillai on the morlity of the Ramayana and owing to the unmanly cowardice and treachery of Sree Rama conclusively proved by their logic. In our younger and wilder days, most of us were inclined to atheism and we took delight in tilting at sacred things and we were incapable of exalting or appreciating one thing without depreciating another. I used in my younger and more foolish days to abuse Sree Krishna and to make fun of His taking birth in a dirty human womb whenever I met a Vaishnava and whenever I wanted to exalt Lord Mahadeva. I have no doubt that I felt at those times greater pleasure in wounding the Vaishnava's feeling than in exalting Lord Mahadeva. But when we have passed a certain age, especially the age of fifty according to our Shastras, or of the age of fifty-five according to the Civil Service Regulation, we are expected to get rid of these puerile and useless vanities and to speak and write only words useful to the world and not those which can lead only to disunion and strife.

As I said above, I am not going to criticise Mr. Ponnambalom's article in detail. Controversies used to be carried on several years ago in the vernacular between the very learned Somasundara Naicker of Chulai and Sree Srinivasa Sastrial of the Brahma Vidya Press and hard hits used to be given on both sides. Both together used sometimes to join forces to attack their common enemy viz., the Vaishnavas. Such controversies in the vernacular carried on by intellectual giants used to give huge delight to us, lesser mortals, in our younger days, and, as everybody knew that those learned men were fanatics in some respects (both of them, I

believe became quite mellowed in spiritual wisdom and became fully tolerant in their last days,) and, as everybody knew that it was a hallowed tradition of vernacular controversies for each side to call the other a fool or a rogue and even to abuse each other's ancestors and relations and to dub the other side's God a fraud so as to add hot condiments and sauce to the dry polemics, readers of such vernacular controversies allowed the usual large discount and took the very valuable and spiritual learning spread out by both sides without their mental digestion being spoiled by the hot fanaticism displayed But Mr. Ponnambalom Pillai has introduced the same method of controversy in an English article and the Editor has thought it fit to give it a prominent place. May I ask the Editor whether, instead of the Valmiki Ramayanam and Sree Ramachandra's character having been attacked, Lord Jesus or Lord Mahomet, or the Bible or the Koran, had been attacked in an article contributed by one who despised those Great Beings or works, would the Editor have allowed it to appear in his magazine as readily as he (a Hindu) has allowed Mr. Ponnambalom Pillai's resuscitation of Professor Sundaram Pillai's attack on Sree Rama and the Ramayana even without an editorial note or explanation?* The Editor may be an agnostic or

* It is not clear what Mr. T. Sadasiva Aiyar is objecting to. Is it the publication of the article *the Morality of the Ramayana*, in the Review or publishing it in a prominent place or publishing it without an editorial note or explanation? If he thinks that the Editor should have exercised his censorship and refrained from giving publication to such an article, we fear he has completely misunderstood our attitude, which is purely neutral and non-partisan, in an historical controversy of the kind proposed by Mr. T. Ponnambalam Pillai and into which the present writer wants to import the flavour of theological implications. Whoever has known the late Professor Sundaram Pillai and Mr. T. Ponnambalam Pillai has known them as persons who would be the last to wantonly wound the religious susceptibilities of the people. As for ourselves, the very fact that we have published this refutation as readily as we published the original article should be sufficient to show that we are trying, in our own way, to hold the balance even between the opposing views of the Pro-Aryan and Pro-Dravidian scholars. The saying of Aristotle "Socrates is dear to me, Plato is dear to me, but Truth is dearer than all these" must particularly be borne in mind in this connection. About publishing the article as the first in the number, it is scarcely necessary to point out that a journal is not like a lecture-hall where the front seats are reserved for the bigwigs while the common herd is relegated to the back benches and that various are the considerations which weigh with the Editor in determining, or it may be, in not determining, the place of an article in each issue of his journal, and which, we think, need not be detailed out here. Coming to our omission to add an explanatory foot-note, we doubt whether ninety per cent of our contributors would not take such editorial activity amiss and whether from the stand-point of the writers primarily it would not be generally preferable to leave their productions to speak for themselves instead of tagging on to them our individual views. This general consideration apart, there is further the special one that few Editors would or could undertake to have a body of cut and dried opinions on all the conceivable subjects dealt with in their journal.—ED. M. Q. R.

unitarian theist, and yet he would have hesitated before publishing a virulent attack on a Being and work held in religious reverence by millions of his brother men. I shall only add in concluding this portion of my letter that I am unable to see in what parts of Valmiki's Ramayanam he found the following statements referred to in his article. Mr. Ponnambalom Pillai says that in stating his "facts the authority of Valmiki alone was relied upon, and none else;"

(a). Ravana "was a dutiful son...husband...brother." "He treated his enemies with generosity,"

(b). "Ravana went with the object of demanding satisfaction, but in the absence of the brothers he had a fierce fight with one of their uncles and his horde" (as if Jatayu fought assisted by a horde) "and after vanquishing *them* carried away Sita."

(c). "Thataka" *was* the grand-mother of Ravana."

(d). Sugriva was ambitious of becoming the king himself and proved refractory by refusing to hand over the reins of Government; and Vali had to fight for regaining his kingdom.

(e). Vibheeshana was a great coward inasmuch as he never took part in any of the battles that were fought between his brother's forces and those of Rama.

(f). The country that lies between the Vindhya Mountains and the northern limits of His Highness the Nizam's dominions was subject to the rule of Ravana."

Every one of those statements is directly opposed to Valmiki's version. The very first Sloka in the 5th Chapter of the Bala Kandam of the Ramayanam says that the entire land of India belonged to the Solar line of Kings; and that is also what Sree Rama tells Vali in justification of Vali's punishment as a subject of the Solar Kings and not as an independent chief. Vibheeshana fought strenuously and bravely in Rama's cause and was taunted by Indrajith for so doing and was saved from Ravana's Sakthi (directed against him) by the intervention of Sree Lakshmana. Sugriva did not want to become King, but was pressed by the people to become King, and as soon as Vali came back, surrendered the kingdom and explained matters humbly, and Vali had not at all to fight to regain his kingdom. Thataka was the mother of Mareecha, and she was a Gandharva woman who lost that form through her

sin. Ravana was afraid of Sree Rama and Lakshmana and went like a thief to abduct Sita and killed the poor old Jatayu who tried to prevent him. Ravana disobeyed his father's wishes, insulted his brother Kubera and deprived him of his Pushpaka Vimanam, killed his brother's messenger, abducted by force virtuous ladies against the remonstrances of his wife Mandodari. But why should I insult the intelligence of your Hindu readers by contradicting in detail all the wild statements made in the article as if they were taken from Valmiki's Ramayanam?

If Professor Sundaram Pillai does not believe in the Ramayanam story at all, as Mr. Ponnambalom Pillai begins by saying in the second para of his article, why should he attack the Aryans on the basis of the allegations in that story after distorting the allegations for his purpose? And if you attack a character as disclosed in a story, is it at all fair or charitable to take certain facts alone as stated in that story as true, to take other statements, which qualify or explain those facts, as false, and then build up a theory? In a very early Chapter (5th) of the very first Kandam of the Ramayana, the author Valmiki begins by stating that the Ikshwaku race owned the whole of the land surrounded by seas, and the very name of Dandakaranyam shows (see also the Uttara Ramayanam) its connection with one of the kings of the Solar race. And yet we are gravely told that Sree Rama invaded the Dandakaranya and the Janasthana which belonged to Ravana. Surpanaka, it is said, was a quite innocent and harmless lady and was doing nothing out of the way when her ears were cut off. But Valmiki says that she sprang on Sita and tried to eat her up, as she thought that the only obstacle to Sree Rama's becoming her (Surpanaka's) husband was the existence alive of Sita. (Chapter XVIII, Aranya Kandam). Of course, Valmiki is a liar when he says this, and Professor Sundaram Pillai and Mr. Ponnambalom Pillai have been able to separate this lie from the truthful portions of the narrative, which portions show these learned gentlemen what rascals these Aryans were and what glorious and virtuous people the Rakshasas as a class were with the exception of Vibheeshana and his four ministers. These latter did fight with weapons on Rama's side according to Valmiki. The monkeys who fought on Rama's side were not ordinary monkeys but hybrids born to Devas. Of course all these statements of

Valmiki are puerile, worthless, or cunning additions according to Mr. Ponnambalom Pillai, and these monkeys were really Tamil Dravidians. So also, if Vali himself admitted to Sree Ramachandra that he was rightly punished by the Ruling Power at Ayodhya through Sree Rama's hands (see Chapter XVIII, Kishkindha Kandam), this is also a lying trick of Valmiki. This author is a great fool as well as a great liar acording to those who do not believe in Higher Being, Higher Worlds and Subtler Forces and Siddhis than obtain among ordinary men and in the physical world. He seems to admit that *prima facie* Lord Sree Rama's action required justification, but if he was an imaginative liar, why should he not say that Vali was killed in open fight? The Sookshma Dharma in Valivadhom lies, no doubt, very deep. Of course, it is easy to flippantly and conceitedly say that Sree Rama was a wretched selfish man like us and that this is a sufficient explanation for his act. That Vali had warnings from his wife Thara, that Sree Rama was going to deal with Vali's crimes as a King's Officer to a criminal and not as a foe against an independent foe, and that she tried to persuade him to get forgiveness from Sree Rama and thus escape punishment, are told clearly in the Valmiki's Ramayana. We must however be thankful for even small mercies at the hands of these scholars, for they seem not to have attacked the honesty and character of that wretched fool and traitor, Hanuman, who, though a Dravidian, is the head of the Bhakthas of Sree Ramachandra. I know that there are some who think that all my Indian brothers who are now nominally classed as Sudras, though most of them are Vaisyas and some of them ought to be classed as Kshathriyas and Brahmins,—but that is another story—do not belong to the Aryan race. It is not improbable that the Vellala and Naga races were originally races not belonging to the Fifth Arya race, but to a later branch of the later Fourth Turanian Race, that branch being called Dravidians. The Fifth Arya Race itself was selected out of the flower of the earlier Fourth Race. But the Aryan race itself had developed all the four castes long before Sree Rama's days. At first, there was only one caste, and then three castes arose, and lastly four castes. The Sudras of the United Provinces and Bombay cannot be said to be Dravidians, Vellalas, or Nagas. Many conquered and indigenous races belonging to an earlier

civilization must, of course, have also been taken into the Aryan Caste system afterwards. Some of the more enlightened and religious members belonging to such indigenous races were incorporated, as even Kshathriyas and Vysias. But the ambition of many of my Southern Vellala friends and of the so-called non-Brahmin portion of our community in the southern portions of India to now cut themselves entirely adrift from Sree Rama and Sree Krishna and the Sanskrit Vedas and the Thiruvaimozhi Prabandhom and to raise a standard of revolt on a pure Tamil Saivite anti-Brahmin and non-Aryan basis, is, if I may be permitted to say so, an utter wild-goose chase. I do not mean, of course, to say that the Saiva Siddhantha Religion of Philosophical Devotion so splendidly expounded by my brother J. M. Nallasamy Pillai, which is the same as the Religion of the Geetha with slight variations of terminology, is at all opposed to the Arya Vedas and Shasthras. The non-Brahmin Alwars who have been devotees of Sree Rama and Sree Krishna are infinitely more powerful than my modern Tamil friends of the type of Mr. Ponnambalom Pillai, intellectual giants of vast learning, though many of these latter may be.

We have already got strife and division enough among us. A new religious sect based not on the enunciation of a new spiritual truth but on a critical attack of the Ramayana and of Sree Rama's character need not be set up to cause further strife and dissension among us. The political, antiquarian, and religious importance of the Vellala community and the great beauty and spirituality of the Tamil Sacred Literature need not be founded on attacks upon the Ramayana and the morality of the Aryan races, to which most so-called Sudras belong either wholly as in the north or by a large infusion of Aryan blood as in Malabar, and we know how in the political field the assertion of superiority in political status and loyalty and character by a seetion of Indians is embarassing and delaying the introduction of Lord Morley's Reforms. Fanaticism and extremism in polical, social, and religious matters, though better than death and apathy, are not at all desirable things in themselves, and as it seemed to me to be the duty of every sober criticto try his best to put down the rising flames raised in these fields in respectable Journals and Magazines before the flames spread havoc and as soon they have done their work of giving warmth and life to chilled and numbed limbs, I have ventured to

write this imperfect protest during the few snatches of leisure I am able to secure, against the implications contained in the article of my friend Mr. Ponnambalom Pillai, whose hand has been probably utilised half-unconsciously to himself by a mischievous Spirit from another world bent on sowing discord and disunion among us.

When I refer to the Ramayana of Valmiki as a Spiritual Work and also as a Historical narrative, I, of course, do not intend to state that the work (every word and letter of it) has come down to us as it was first expressed to his disciples, Bharadwaja and others, by the great Sage. As a reviewer in the *Hindu* of 20th July last put it: "notwithstanding the ravages of time, it has come down to us with" (practically) "unsullied purity, though interpolations of a marked character *are inevitable in a work so huge and stupendous in character*." But to first state the whole thing to be a fiction, then to select garbled and isolated passages and incidents as if they alone were genuine and showed the morality and spirituality of the Author's work and of the hero of the work, instead of taking the pervading and clearly recognisable trend and spirit of the whole, are, I must repeat, grossly unfair and show a mind diseased by inveterate and bigoted prejudice against the very name "Aryan."

T. SADASIVA AIYAR.

Intellectualism or Mysticism, the true Philosophy of Life?

By Mr. P. Ramaswami, B. A.

HAS Science convinced all those who are capable of seeing things as they are, that blind forces which know nothing of good and evil, determine the course of the world? This is a question which a thinking man puts to himself, when academic men, fed on Science, emphasise the value of scientific criticism and caution in practical moral conduct. Some have a notion, that there is something called scientific evidence, by waiting upon which, they shall escape all danger of shipwreck in regard to truth. But there is really no scientific or other method by which men can steer safely between the opposite dangers of believing too little and believing too much. To face such dangers is apparently our duty, and to hit the right channel between them is the measure of our wisdom as men.

"It is true" says Bacon "that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism; but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion." The best of philosophers agree that reality is far from being simple and perfectly intelligible. Remarkable though the progress of Science, it has utterly failed to solve the mystery of existence. The mystery seems to have deepened and to have grown more wonderful. Science does not carry the thinking man to the end of things. She merely gives him an inkling of the illimitableness of the Universe. She arouses in those, who serve her with a pure heart, not pride, but feelings of deep humility and insignificance."

The ideal of scientific method, or rather of positive scientific method, has brought about a paralysis of the native capacity for faith. The object of the following paragraphs is briefly to indicate the relative place of intellectualism, and of access to truths of nature by some other method than ordinary intellectual apprehension, which I term mysticism.

The presence of intellectualism is ever revealed in a special elaboration of its forms of expression. Its deliveries aim at a mastery

of style, while its arguments carry great convincing power. Yet it is lacking in vital depth. Hence its action is limited to the measurable and concrete. Its originality is expressed in form, in collecting elements and welding them into chains of binding logic. The characteristic of intellectualism lies in the lack of spontaneity.

From the point of view of the mystic, mind is simply a transmitter. It transmits the soul impressions received from sense activities or from the calm unerring influx of the soul. The most practical of mystic writers, R. W. Emerson, puts the matter thus: "All goes to show that the soul in man is not an organ, but animates and exercises all organs; is not a function like the power of memory, of calculation, of comparison, but uses those as hands and feet; it is not a faculty but a light; it is not the intellect or the will, but the master of the intellect and the will—an immensity not possessed and that cannot be possessed. From within or from behind a light shines through us upon things and makes us aware that we are nothing, but light is all."

When calm this mental zone is a true transmitter. So truth and clearness of perception depends on, the calmness, firmness and sincerity of the mind. The relation between the soul and the mental atmosphere involves the operation of force-currents of mental-intellectual-psychic potencies. Hence a cloud on the mental horizon means an accumulation of misapplied psychic-intellectual energy. Mental or moral thunder-storms of such accumulated energy, emotions and passions may rend and shock the soul. Such over-turning of moral poise and balance of soul is the result of such psychic thunderstorms.

The soul, when gazing out over the confirmations of thought images and phantoms of emotions afloat in its mental atmosphere, will be apt to commit blunders. A man is 'facade of a temple' wherein all wisdom and goodness abide. And the blindness of the intellect begins when it would be something of itself. An active mind constantly referring to itself as an infallible and final power of judgment gradually isolates itself. This mental isolation, and consequent intellectual self-centrement gives cohesive force. The ego through its intensity to identify itself with its mental process, conduces its available powers into a focus of personal energy termed the will.

From the point of view of the mystics, the difference between 'true will' and 'false will' lies in the source of origin and the character of the motive. Personal will is generated by intense mental agitation of the ego. This weakness of the will, as mystics term it, begins when the individual would be something of himself. The 'true will' consists in the unconditional surrender of the human will, the true ego, to the dictates of duty. The true will aims to let the soul have its way through us, in other words, to engage us to obey. There is no bar or wall in the soul, where man, the 'effect', ceases and God, the 'cause', begins. We lie open on one side to the deeps of spiritual nature, to the attributes of God. This is the mystical idea of 'true will.'

Intellectualism and mysticism form the two poles of the manifested intelligence. The one analyses and educates; the other synthesises and inspires. The one toils and drudges in the field of evolution, the other sheds its light on the work, blazing out the direction. Controlled by sense-fed, self-sufficient mind, the soul gives rise to intellectualism. Thus the soul receiving the intelligence from the sense-world becomes incapable of observing the universe and its true nature from any higher level than the source of its information. Controlled by its universal nature, it manifests as mysticism. With its inspiring intelligence drawn from the centre of all love, the soul is able to recognize the possibilities and purposiveness of the evolution of life. Mysticism comprehends life as emanating from universal source, and has the timeless, the deathless for its basis. From the standpoint of the mystic, intellect cannot adequately deal with man of emotions, volitions and feelings. From this point of view the logic of Emerson is readily seen: "Trust the instinct to the end, though you can render no reason. By trusting it to the end, it shall ripen into truth and you shall know why you believe." As a true mystic Emerson disappears in the profoundity of his thought. He followed the promptings of the soul, fearlessly subordinating his mental concepts to the revelation of purer light.

The mystic by his calmness of mind is able to receive the rays of universal truth. Hence the paramount necessity of possessing mental calmness for the realization of truth. To speak with Robert Browning, who in his 'Paracelsus' reveals to us that

"Truth is within ourselves; it takes no rise

From outward things, whate'er you might believe;
There is an inmost centre in us all,
Where truth abides in fulness; and around
Wall upon wall the gross flesh hems it in.
* * * * and "*to know*"
Rather consists in opening a way
Whence the imprisoned splendour may escape
Than in effecting entry for a light
Supposed to be without."

The mystical is simple, serene and intensely practical. Mysticism is mysterious only to the intellect. To the soul it is as plain as day-light. True wisdom is always accompanied by a practical understanding and common-sense. Here we find the source of the calmness of the mystic. He is never taken by surprise, never gives way to impatience. He feels the changing features as elements necessary for his evolution.

A self-centered mind constantly referring to itself as an infallible final power isolates the soul from greater sphere of life. His philosophy starts with himself, feeds on himself and mostly dies with himself. "Ever not quite" must be the rationalistic philosopher's last confession concerning the most assured conclusions of philosophy. After all that reason can do has been done there still remains the opacity of finite facts as merely given, with most of its peculiarities mutually mediated and unexplained. To the very last there are various points of view which the philosopher must distinguish in discussing the world. And what is inwardly clear from one point remains a bare externality and datum to the other.

The historical position of intellectualism is that of a fashioning and co-ordinating factor. It analyses and classifies the material brought forth by an advancing evolution. It receives its evolutionary value by critically examining the laws and principles of evolution. Its trespassings we find in the attempt to substitute the soul by the mind. Its very nature is negative and analytic, and must ever fail the moment it arrogates to itself the dignity of positive and constructive power. The recognition of the action of the soul in human affairs gives rise to mysticism. This recognition tends to inspire faith and hope in the soul, and the enjoyment of the powers in the service of humanity its ever-present object. It is the love-inspired action of the soul in his service of suffering fellow-souls.

Philosophy is a mirror of the feelings of the age. The relation of Philosophy to its age by no means consists in expressing that which its age possesses, but rather in expressing what it lacks; it shows what the most reflective and the most sênsitive of those living at the time desire and strive after; their ideals contain the features of the present but only as a negative picture. A rough historical outline of the Greek and Christian conception of life would be helpful in estimating the value and place of intellectualism and mysticism.

The perfection of human nature in civilization is the final goal of Greek life. Emphasis is laid upon the virtues and duties which lead to the perfection of individual life. Greek moral philosophy consists essentially in the analysis and conceptual formulation of the popular Greek ideal of a perfect life. Socrates considered virtues as forms of reason. Scientific knowledge is the great condition of all excellence and virtue. Only the scientific knowledge of the good can make a man's will correct, certain, and steady. Man must be defined by his place in the Cosmos. The human being participates in the 'real reality' and in the 'corporeal world.' Life must be fashioned into proportion and harmony, order and beauty, by reason, the ideal element peculiar to it. Reason or knowledge of the true reality is the ruling principle which regulates entire life. The animal functions must be governed by reason, without disquieting the spirit. Plato thus emphasises the element of speculative knowledge of the real reality.

Not content with this Plato manifests a strong tendency to spiritualize the nature of man. A peculiar phase of his conception of life is alienation from the world which approximates to the Christian view. He does not adhere to the conception of man as a spiritual sensuous being. The crudity of experience and the feeling of the insufficiency of empirical knowledge gave him a clue to the faith in the transcendent.

But Aristotle does not go so far. Reason is for him the highest function of man. Of all activities theoretical activity, contemplation alone is self-sufficient. The ideal life consists of pure thought. 'A state of deliberate moral purpose consisting in a mean that is relative to ourselves, the mean determined by reason or as a prudent man would determine it, is the goal of life."

The relation of human mind to reality is not exhausted by such an establishment of deliberate moral purpose. It cannot help constructing thoughts concerning the meaning of the whole. These thoughts however are not a matter of demonstration. They are based upon the soul's participation in things; they rest upon the volitional side of man's nature. In their unity they make up the faith of the human soul. So the Greek conception is not tenable. Their belief in the 'irresistible power of knowledge' has a great deal to do with the position, which philosophy occupied in the life of the Greeks

Now our beliefs are different. We believe that "the greatest blessing that can befall a thinking man is to fathom what can be fathomed and silently adore the unfathomable." The Greeks were not alive to such a truth since they believed knowledge to be all powerful. The feeling of awe in the presence of the infinite, from which our life springs and into which it flows, forms the root of religious conception of things. This reverence includes humility and trust. The feeling that the infinite is not merely an external transcendent force, but harbours and bears within its bosom our own life and striving as something that was created by it and cannot be lost; of such feelings the heart-beats of religion consists.

The human mind stands ever in perplexity, demanding intellect, demanding sanctity, impatient equally of each without the other. The solution of these must be in a life and not in a book. One class of people have access to the secrets of nature by some higher method than ordinary ratiocination. All religious history contains traces of the trance of saints 'the flight of the alone to the alone." This beatitude sometimes comes in terror and with shocks to the mind of the receiver. It 'over-informs' the tenement of clay and drives the man mad. Such introverted minds are called mystics.

With the exception of Plato the rest of the Greek philosophers inclined to intellectualism. The general insufficiency of intellectualism has been pointed out. When we view the Greek conception of life in the light of Christianity we may be better able to see the untenability of the Greek view of life.

The Greeks regarded perfect development of the natural powers of man as the good of life. But the death of the natural man, the resurrection of the supernatural, negation of the world, this is

the goal of Christian Life. So the Christian death of the flesh is the entrance to life; "for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap also. For he that soweth to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the spirit shall of the spirit reap life everlasting." (Gal. iii)

Perfection of intellectual capacities seemed to the Greeks an absolutely necessary function of human life. The attitude of Christianity towards reason is one of contempt. The poor in spirit are blessed. What is hidden to the wise and prudent is revealed to children. "Where *is* the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of the world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of the world?" (i Cor 20), The virtues of the intellect, freedom and boldness of thought, and the power to doubt the vital principles of scientific research, are in the eyes of primitive Christianity worthless, nay dangerous. The ethical virtues of the Greeks which are natural impulses educated and disciplined by reason are to the primitive Christian splendid vices. If the virtues bear no relation to God, they are inflated and arrogant and therefore vices.

Courage based on self-preservation is a Greek virtue. To the Christian patient virtue is his courage. Old Christians dreaded self-assertion in any form. Primitive Christian proved his courage by patient suffering and martyrdom. And the law of Moses 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth' has given place to 'resist not evil': But whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also.'

The primitive Christian was a citizen of the kingdom of God, and he would allow no command of earthly rulers to turn him aside from the duties which the earthly citizenship imposed upon him. He looked upon the State as something alien to himself and his inner principle of life. He fled from earthly sensuous pleasure. He acted up to the words of the Lord: 'That thou frame thy desires wholly according to my good pleasure; and that thou be not a lover of thyself, but an earnest follower of my will.' If I be the cause thou will be well content howsoever I shall ordain; but if there lurk in thee any self-seeking, behold, this it is that hindereth thee and weigheth thee down.' Such pleasure was too apt to endanger the soul and impede the free flight of the spirit

to eternity. Nowhere are we exhorted to make the body and the soul capable of enjoying. How can he strive for culture who is struggling for holiness? Riches have no value for the Christian. They are prohibited as dangerous. We hear it said that a fulfilment of the law "take no thought for your life" in the spirit in which it was uttered, would destroy the entire civilized life. It is very probable that it would. But what does that show? Where is it written that it should be preserved?

Let us take Greek 'honour.' Noble pride, high-mindedness, is the intensification of the proper love of honour. The corresponding virtue for the primitive Christian is humility, for he neither seeks for nor obtains the glories of the world. Disgrace and ridicule are his glory. "Blessed are ye when *men* shall revile you, and persecute *you*, and shall say all manner of evil against you, falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you." (Math V. 11, 12) 'Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you! for so did their fathers to the false prophets.' A fundamental characteristic of the Christian is humility before God, the weak and the lowly; but proud toward those who think well of themselves and bask in the light of their glory. Both John and Christ exhibit this honest, fearless, defiant pride towards the great and respectable worldlings.

Thus all Greek virtues are in the light of Christianity splendid vices. They are rooted in the impulse of self-preservation, of knowledge, of revenge, of the desire of culture and love of honour. Nothing less than the death of the old, and the re-birth of the new man is necessary to transform the Greek into Christian. To us a life in such a spirit seems to involve a loss of all that is valuable under the guise of civilization. What is this civilization any way?

'This vaunted civilization has practically abolished the idea of human soul and whatever of it is believed in, by some, is its false shadow. It is daily degrading divine humanity into unashamed animality. It has raised selfishness to a religious creed, mammon to the throne of God, falsehood to a fine-art. It has banished all seriousness out of life, and made it a mere plaything, self-seeking its breath, self-will its law. self-conceit its essence, and self-deception its philosophy.'

Such a language may be strong, but is there any reason to believe otherwise. The spirit of the primitive Christian philosophy is obsolescent. Compassionate love is a great virtue and self-righteous hardness of heart the great vice. Lowliness of mind is the beginning of Christianity. The Greek morality warns against arrogance which makes a man despised before God and men, but it warns no less against the opposite, lowliness of mind. The starting point of this radical change in the attitude of the Christian is the certainty that our earthly life is not the true life. He lives like a traveller; the predominant feeling is deep tranquil peace. The eternal life which is to come and is close at hand overshadows the temporal life. Such a recognition of an inner spiritual life opens a new vista.

This faith in the transcendent invariably presupposes a feeling of the insufficiency of the empirical world. As life develops the will is spiritualised. With the advance of civilization, it aims not merely at life, but at an ideal life. This springs from an yearning of the will for perfection. But that which is a *demand* in morals becomes a *reality* in religion. Perfection is described by morality in the abstract intellectual formulæ, it is intuited in religion in concrete form as a divine, holy and blessed life. The description is but a phase of the ideal. A mere idea, an intellectual apprehension, is not enough to move us, and persuade us, and lead to action on conviction. The idea must come home to us in terms of love or feeling. It must move us as that loved moves us. The moral ideal implies more than knowledge. Apart from the embodiment of abstract moral law in a concrete personality, recognised as infinitely perfect and infinitely sympathetic with the struggles of man, moral progress cannot find hope or motive power. This implies the recognition of a divine example. Wisdom must be united to love and the union of these two, brings with it the third, the life of successful moral progress. All these three must meet in the divine example.

Such a divine example was supplied by the life of Christ. And the primitive Christian ideal of life has, as we have seen, pointed out the insufficiency of intellectualism. The central idea of the deficiency of divine grace to overcome all corruption of flesh points in the direction of mysticism. "Thy grace is the mistress of truth the teacher of discipline, the light of the heart, the solace in affliction, the driver away of sorrow, the expeller of fear, the muse of

devotion, the mother of tears." Such is the language of Christian devotee. Hence the study of mysticism is the study of the soul, and the enjoyment of the powers in the service of humanity its ever-present object. It is the love-inspired action of the soul, in his service of suffering fellow-souls.

The middle ages at first sight seemed to have been absolutely ruled by the primitive Christian conception of life. It was not really the same in character. Christianity was organised into a state: a kind of compromise was made between Christianity and the world. It assimilated so much of the world as was needed to rule the world. Thus the spirit of primitive Christianity was lost sight of. Christianity developed into a world-power. This age was full of energy and of the desire to achieve great deeds. Individuals were not wanting in which the true Christian mood asserted itself; but that was not the prevailing mood. The virtue now admired is ferocious courage. The true Christian was a strong friend of his friends, and an awful enemy to his enemies. The 'Heliland' makes Jesus a mighty Lord and his disciples retainers. Measured by the command, 'Despise the world and its pleasures' the life of the Germanic nations was not a Christian life. War, pleasures of the table, and the sex, were made subjects of art and study.

Pope, 'the servant of the servants of God' was in reality the lord of the world. The bishops were princes, the cloisters were centres of civilization. Strange, the military orders, the members of which as soldiers of Christ *inflicted* as well as bound up the wounds in his service. A craving for knowledge was an unmistakeable sign of the times. The high goal of intellectual strivings of middle ages, namely to appropriate and master by natural reason the truth of salvation, was not in harmony with the spirit of primitive Christianity.

This mixture of Christianity and the world seemed to a section of the church as a corruption of Christianity. The peculiar essence and strength of Christianity has been lost, when the Church divided with the State the power over the world, either ruling it, or being ruled by it. Christianity was a battle with the world. Christianity without battle, recognised by the world, approved and authorized by the State, is no longer the same thing. It is also certain that a type of character has been produced by the mixture of christian forms

and modes of speech with worldly manners, which is one of the most repulsive deformities. In order to become a powerful life-principle, Christianity had to assume a positive relation to the world, it had to be organised in the form of a church after the manner of the world kingdom. It is a fact that it thereby changed. This change of the spirit of Christianity very well illustrates the facility with which the mind withdraws itself from higher things to become steeped in material prosperity and possession of wealth. Such a prosperity encourages sense-propensity. The primitive Christian ideal, which was a perpetual uplifting influence leading to higher modes of life, was not cultivated. The spirit of life which was the mainspring of love that bound Christ to his fellow beings was not followed.

Christ lived as an example to the world. He proclaimed: "He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." Why and how the spirit of primitive Christianity gave way to such an apology for Christianity are legitimate questions for church history. But the point here is that the central principle of Christ's teaching and his life is not an intellectual apprehension of some theory of the universe; but it was an attitude of the will showing unanimity with Divine will; a complete interdependence between finite individual experience and Divine grace. The primitive Christian was taught to believe somewhat thus:

Trust thou the leadings of the infinite grace and thou shalt '*know*.' Surely he hath not let us alone: but his love co-operate with us to sustain our higher life. Hence mere dialectics will not do; devotion is needed. Questions long unanswered receive their solution in some swift sudden moments of interior illumination. One such intuition overcomes a thousand difficulties raised by argument. In a moment the veil falls off. The soul *sees* the truth or *feels* it. It is the moment of communion, of fellow-ship, of felt contact with the all true. Apprehension of truth is a living communion of mind with mind.

Such an attitude gave way. The state, the institution of modern times, gradually supplanted the church, the dominant institution of the middle ages. Individual became self-dependent in his highest relations. The state became a comprehensive institution for the advancement of civilization. The principle of rationalism

and free investigation gained ground. Development of economic and social life formed the starting point of the entire transformation. The new society became more and more intent upon conquering the earth and appropriating its wealth. The yearning for the hereafter was stifled in the mad race for the things of this world.

Such a change in the object of life has created artificial wanst and made man a slave of work to satisfy them. It has made him ever restless within and without, robbed him of leisure, the only friend of high thought. He knows not peace, hence knows not himself or his real object in life. It has made him a breathing, moving, hustling, fighting, and spinning machine, ever working, never resting. Its vulgar haste and love of sensation are invading even the realm of religion, which is being classed with fads and craze.

Reformation forced the thoughts of men from worldly things back to religion. Yet the desire for civilization is in modern times unreservedly and openly recognized as the only legitimate ideal. Real Christianity is something so foreign to the Christians of modern era that they are unable to understand how any one could live and feel in that way. The modern era returns to the Greek conception, that the highest and most important function of man is the exercise of reason in scientific knowledge. The new age is looking for heaven upon earth. It hopes to attain to perfect civilization through science. The goal is heaven on earth and the road to it is natural science. Technical scientific civilization, based upon scientific knowledge, and secured by perfect political institutions—that is the programme of modern era. One fundamental note running through it is pessimism and Schopenhuer teaches that civilization increases misery. If it is this, the hunger for an ideal, that brings forth all these phenomena, then they are not symptoms of decline, but symptoms of the unrest that precedes the birth of a new age. This mixture, antagonism and reconciliation of Christian and Greek elements, is the characteristic of the modern conception of life. Hellanic love of life and Christian negation of life would be regarded by a purely logical being as contradictions. Man's inner life is not a mechanism which rejects everything contradictory. He is also and primarily a willing and feeling being, a being that experiences pleasure and pain, love and hate, admiration and contempt. The judgment which he pronounces as such a being he endeavours to comprehend into a system. Thus

arise the different systems of beliefs.

Every man experiences great extremes of pleasure and pain, health and sickness, youth and old age, life and death; no one is unfamiliar with extremes of happiness and disappointment. In as much as every mood is absolute while it lasts, we may say the tendency is temporarily present in every man to produce intellectualistic and mystical systems. Every one has his own experiences. It will depend on one's temperament and experiences, which of the two, intellectualism or mysticism, will gain the supremacy, and finally become habitual with him. But in some form or other he will employ them both to universalize the temporary mood. We shall have to say that systems of intellectualism or mysticism carried out consistently are logical schemes, that do not directly express the life, thoughts and feelings of the actual man. They mark a relation of the soul to reality as it would be if certain experiences and moods were the only ones. The real life oscillates between extreme moods and the judgment on life and reality correspondingly wavers between these extreme formulæ. This is true of the life of the individual as well as the life of nations and times.

The theoretical value of such conceptual systems consists in this, that they are an indirect means of understanding and determining reality, More important is the practical value of their self-expression in poetry and art. They supply us with the spiritual forms for the great modes and moods of life. Of experience as a whole no account can be given. The peace of rationality may be sought through ecstacy when logic fails. To religious persons of every shade of doctrine, moments come when the world seems so divinely orderly, and the acceptance of it by the heart so rapturously complete, that intellectual questions vanish, nay the intellect itself is hushed to sleep—as Wordsworth says "Thought is not; in enjoyment it expires." Even the least religious of men must have felt when loafing on the grass some morning that 'swiftly arose and spread round him the peace and knowledge that pass all argument of the earth.' At such moments of energetic living we feel as if there were something diseased and contemptible, yea vile, in theoretic grubbing and brooding. In the eye of healthy sense the philosopher is at best a learned fool.

Life is lighted up by religion; religion however cannot live

permanently if it is in conflict with philosophy and science. Let scientific research proceed as far as possible upon her course; the entire historical and natural realm is absolutely open to her investigations. Scientific knowledge does not exhaust the relation of human mind to reality. Human mind must construct thoughts concerning the meaning of the whole. They rest upon the volitional side of man's nature. But the formula of faith would be an expression of the conception of reality from the point of view of the highest good. Such a formula could never come in conflict with science, because it will never make any assertions concerning the aspect of things which is accessible to science. Such a faith would bind the will and not the understanding.

"Reason" as a gifted writer says "is but one item in the mystery; and behind the proudest consciousness that ever reigned reason and wonder blush face to face. The inevitable stales while doubt and hope are sisters. Not unfortunately the universe is wild-game-flavoured as hawk's wing. Nature is miracle all; the same returns not save to bring the different.

"Rise, self! above the gnawing joys of earth.
Sensations die and leave the spirit dead.
Leave folly of the world! Love is conceipt,
Art is fancy, science is a dream.
Fame weakens intellect and makes a slave
Of him who wooes it; power breaks the will
Of him it crowns; love sullies chastity.
. . . . . . Isolated thus
By loftiness of thought the mind shall reach
Eternal happiness, defying death."

P. RAMASWAMI.

The influence of Muhammadan Rule upon India.

By Mr. A. Krishna Aiyar, B.A.

IT is a matter for profound satisfaction and gratefulness to all rightminded Indians, that the Government of His Majesty the King-Emperor have at last come to recognise the need of reform in the Indian Administration, and of more effective and more real popular representation in all Legislative Councils. Considering the vast difference between the various elements of Indian population in race, religion, language and tradition, it is certain that any kind of popular Government to be successful, must represent these divergent interests; and accordingly, the proposal to reserve seats in all Provincial and Imperial Legislatures, for Muhammadan representatives, is a reform in the right direction. To us, Hindus especially, who have all along been tolerant of other religions, who lived under Mussalman rule for more than five centuries, and served their interests, as well as, ours in the best days of that rule, and whose political interests, at the present day, are identical with those of the Mussalmans, any proposal to give a fair representation to our fellow-citizens must be a welcome one—the more so, because, the cordial relations between us and the followers of Islam, are not of recent origin, but date as far back as, or even prior to, the eleventh and the twelfth centuries; also, the uniform and steady progress of India depends not upon the advancement of Hindus alone, but on the harmonious development of Hindus and Mussalmans as well as of other communities like the Parsees &c.

This being our position, no moment can be more opportune than the present, for tracing the relations between these two communities, and for pointing out the action and interaction of their respective civilizations on each other, and also some of the permanent legacies of Mussalman rule to India; for, now, everybody's attention is drawn towards that community by the proposed reforms, whose principal feature is the provision for separate electorates for the Mussalmans, and also by the acute controversy which has arisen from such provision.

In these circumstances it is highly necessary that we should realise the situation and recognise the solid fact that the Hindus and

Mussalmans do not, any longer, form two rival bodies, but are fellow-citizens of the same Empire united in essentials, making for advancement all round, and each owing to the other, a great deal of its present civilization; for in the words of Sir Syed Ahmed "Hindus and Mussalmans are the two Eyes of India; injure the one and you injure the other. We should try to become one heart and soul; if united, we can support each other; if not the effect of one against the other will tend to the destruction and downfall of both".

In the following pages, therefore, an attempt is made to describe the various influences, which were the direct or indirect outcome of the uninterrupted domination of the Muhammadans in India, whose zeal and fanaticism, the chief characteristic of all newly converted people, were inherited by them, from the warlike Arabs, of whom Mr. Ameer Ali justly says "Of all the older nations that have carried their arms across vast continents, that have left ineffaceable marks of their achievement on the pages of history and enriched the world of thought by their discoveries and speculations, they stand to us the closest in time".

It was about 570 A. D., that Muhammad was born, one of those mighty Avatàrs, who at various stages of human evolution, in various countries, and at various times, have come to the world to set up Dharma, when it decays. Within a hundred years of the Hejira, not only the whole of Arabia, but Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt and Persia were all conquered by his followers, who dared to declare war even against Heracleus, the Eastern Roman Emperor, and his successors. By 711 A. D., the Saracen power, extending over North Africa, reached Gothic Spain. By this time Islam was carried to Samarkand and Kashgir, and the first invasion of India about 712 A. D., coincided, curiously enough, with another memorable victory of Islam *viz*., the battle of Guadalete (710 A. D.) which shattered Gothic Spain to pieces.

The first Arab invasion of India was indeed fruitless and for nearly two centuries after there was no attempt at systematic conquest. It is with Mahmud of Ghazni that we really enter upon an era of Mussalman invasions and conquests. India, since his time, has become, for good or otherwise, Hindu-Mussalman. It is foreign to our purpose to trace the history of Afghan and Moghul rule in

due order or in detail. Suffice to say that Akbar was the greatest of Emperors and his reign was contemporary with that of Elizabeth. The former with still greater statesmanship, and breadth of view and heart, undertook to inaugurate a catholic and national policy as distinguished from a sectarian one. An equal sympathy with all religions and an openness to receive new ideas, which is found very rarely among sovereigns, a deep understanding of the old Indian systems with a desire not to destroy but to fulfil, a love of everything natural with a habit of striking swiftly and pardoning generously—all these have naturally and completely won the hearts of the people for that most precious of the shadows of God.

The History of India during this period displays curious contrast to that of England. In England, it was well for the country that Elizabeth reigned after Mary, the bigoted Catholic, and not before her. But India had the misfortune to see Akbar succeeded and not preceded, by Aurungzeb, the counterpart of Mary. The zealous missionary spirit with which the lathi ruled India gave a deathblow to the Empire which Akbar's genius had consolidated. The weakness and incapacity of Aurungzeb's successors, the invasions of Nadirshah and Ahmad Shah, the insolvency and excessive centralization of the Government, the military degeneration and inefficiency, all these contributed to the same result; and with the third battle of Paniput in 1761, the history of Muhammadan India practically comes to an end and that of British India begins.

It is true, that Indians, in those days, long accustomed to foreign invasions, probably regarded the Muhammadan march as only one of the waves that had passed over the surface of Indian Society, without affecting the great mass to any appreciable extent. But we who live after the event are able to spot the essential difference between the advent of Islam and other foreign invasions preceding it. For, the Greeks, the Parthians, the Scythians, the Huns and the Kusanas, sweeping over India, at various times, either returned whence they came, or after a more or less brief sojourn, lost themselves among the Hindus, in slow course. With Islam, however, it was not quite so. These conquerors, no doubt, settled in India like their predecessors, but unlike them, they remain to this day, a fairly distinct people, claiming even a different racial origin, while their conquests and rule, have, by reason of their longevity, produced

far deeper and far more lasting results.

In the first place, the right reading of their history reveals even on the surface a high moral purpose, amazing self-sacrifice, loyalty, capacity to unite and more or less, a high degree of chivalry among the Muhammadan conquerors. We must not, therefore, any longer, be content with the idea that the history of this period has nothing but a dark picture to present. It is true that the *political* history is full of bloody wars, revolutions and violent dynastic changes. But the writers of text books have tacitly, it may be, been content to remain onesided and confine their attention only to the fortunes of the House of Delhi, ignoring the fact that the history of India is the history of the Indian peoples and not of the Royal dynasties alone. If, however, we turn to the history of the *people* at the time, many unjustified and unfavourable ideas about the Afghan and Moghul rule, will no doubt vanish from the prejudiced minds of the readers of our school histories.

There were *two* redeeming features in the otherwise oppressive Governments of the Afghan and Moghul rulers. Firstly, "It did not disturb the internal administrative arrangements; it did not interfere with the people and their constituted authorities." (a) In Bengal, for instance, where the agricultural class lived under the hereditary Zamindars the Afghan rulers did not interfere with this arrangement. *Outside Bengal*, the people lived in village groups, each village being an organized unit, and, as it were, a little republic by itself. With this system of self-government too, the Mussalman rulers and governors did not, probably, think it, to their advantage, to interfere. The people were left to themselves in the full enjoyment of local self-government and they managed their own affairs, except when, occasionally, they were annoyed by an officious monarch or an oppressive governor. Thus "the most beneficent systems of Government in India have always been those which have recognised it (the village community) as the basis of administration........and to the attempt of English functionaries to separate the two ideas involved in it, may be assigned some of the most formidable miscarriages of Anglo-Indian administration." (b) The Afghan rulers escaped

(a) Vide *the civilisation of India*; R. C. Dutt (The Temple Primers Series) p

(b) Maine's "Ancient Law" chp. VIII, p 216.

from this administrative blunder either because they were too wise or *too indolent* to interfere with the arrangement; and perhaps the follies and crimes of kings seldom disturbed the peace or the wellbeing of the people.

Secondly, though the rulers were, at first, at all events, of an alien extraction, to them, as to their followers, India became an adopted country, and they, seldom, had interests outside the country. Since Kutb-ud-din's days the interests of the rulers had become more or less confined to India and "India paid no tribute to a foreign country and supported no foreign rulers. Indian trade was not injuriously affected by the trading and manufacturing interests of any foreign country". These two redeeming features of the Afghan rule had full effects on the economic condition of the people. A comparison between India under the Afghan rule for about three centuries, and the corresponding era of Feudal age in Europe would not be disadvantageous to India. "The wars of India were less harassing and caused less misery to the people than the wars which desolated every country in Western Europe. The oppression of Mussalman Governors and Jagirdars was less hurtful to the industries and agriculture of India than the oppression of barons and feudal chiefs, who dwelt in their castles and robbed villages and towns. Trade and manufactures flourished in India as they flourished nowhere in Europe except in Italy and the Netherlands; and the religious reforms and intellectual movement among the people of India were carried on more peacefully and with less persecution and cruel repression than in Europe." (c) Thus there were periods in mediaeval Indian History which formed a golden age for philosophy and religion, language and literature, and this feature itself is an eloquent testimony to the fact that the dynastic changes and conquests little affected the peaceful pursuits and the thoughts and life of the people.

In dealing with the effects of Mussalman rule, let us first glance over its influence upon the population of the country. The one great and obvious effect was that which was produced through the proselytism of the followers of Muhammad. The sixtytwo-and-a-half millions of Mussalmans in India, who form about one-fifth of the

(c) Dutt's *Civilisation of India*, pp 99—100.

entire population of the country, are the direct outcome of this proselytising tendency of the rulers. The great majority of these are the descendants of the Hindus converted to Islam. But still, there are a great number of Muhammadans, especially in North India, with little or no admixture of Hindu element in them, descended from the immediate followers and officers of the Afghan and Mogul rulers. Again there are many native states, which are still under Mussalman rulers, being the descendants of the Nawabs and Provincial Governors.

The great majority of Moslems in India, therefore, though professing a different religion, follow, as a matter of course, a number of customs and manners admittedly Hindu. Sir Denzil Ibbetson speaking of the Muhammadans in the East Punjab said "The Mussalman Rajput, Gujar or Jat is for all social, tribal, political and administrative purposes as much a Rajput, Gujar or Jat as his Hindu brother. His social customs, rules of marriage and inheritance remain unchanged." When this is the case in a province which was under Moslem rule much longer, and more intimately connected with other Moslem countries, than other provinces, much need not be said of the Mussalmans in Provinces less influenced. As a matter of fact, there are many sects, scattered throughout India, though now professing Islam, originally converted from Hinduism, who still retain many of the Hindu usages, especially with regard to succession, inheritance and adoption. Sects like the Khojas in Bombay, the Suni Borahs of Guzerat, and the Molesalem Girasies of Broach are still recognised by courts of law, to profess Hindu usages with regard to partition, adoption &c.—(d)

Though this is true of them, touching some sides of their life, yet with regard to the mental characteristics, there appears to be a great deal of difference between them and the Hindus ; Mussalmans in India, are, as a whole, a set of truthful, courageous and independent people. "Moral courage" says an eminent Indian Mussalman, "a combination of independence and discipline, a directness of aims, greater energy and greater independence of character" may be said to be some of the predominating qualities of the present day Mussalmans in India. The existence of such a people, side by side with the Hindus, could not but have produced a wholesome influence on the latter.

d. Vide "Mayne's Hindu Law and usage.,' chp. 1.

The most direct and beneficial influence of Mussalman rule was the *unity and strength* it gave to our country owing mainly to the presence of a strong organised army under the Moghuls, trained and disciplined and often "reinforced from the recruiting grounds of central Asia." Since the days of Asoka and perhaps of Sámudra-gupta, India had never been a strong united country under *one* ruler, free from all foreign invasions. Even under Asoka, who ruled over the greater part of India, his Empire did not extend so far as the present British Empire. The great curse of India has been its magnitude which perhaps has to account for its tradition of diversity and disunion. We somehow find, that, till now only a foreign power could, at times keep the diverse elements in subjection with more or less success. To use the words of Sir T. Madhava Row, 'India was and would be a menagerie with all the cases left open, in case the unifying force be withdrawn'. The Muhammadans were the first foreign power who attempted at a systematic union of all India under *one* ruler. This union was kept up, as we have seen, by their strong organizing power, no less than by their strong military force.

Again, it may be said, that the unification of the various Hindu States in South India to form the mighty empire of Vizianagaram was the direct outcome of the presence of a Moslem power in the Dakhan. It is, moreover, doubtful, whether this empire would have risen to such a height but for the aggressive spirit of the Dakhan Moslem rulers. History is full of examples to show the process of strengthening and unification of states as a result of outward pressure brought to bear upon them and India is no exception to this rule. The unification of the whole of India under British rule affords only a parallel to that under the Moghul rule.

We shall next see what traces were left by Mussalman rule, in the *Economic* features of the country. In this connection, it would not be out of place to describe the condition of the agricultural and industrial population under the Moghuls. The incidence and the amount of taxes, the method of their collection, the general condition of agricultural pursuits, the encouragement, if any, given to the artizan class, the means of communication and the condition of internal and foreign trade, are all fascinating subjects for description. But considerations of space preclude such an attempt even on a

limited scale. When we remember how the tyranny and rapacity of jagirdars and local governors were unchecked by the emperor holding his sceptre in the distant capital, how the taxes collected far exceeded the standard fixed by generous and prudent monarchs, and how the expenses of the magnificent Royal courts, the maintenance of a large army, and the Royal tours especially in those days when the Sovereign was followed by a very large retinue and most of the officers, one of the regal camps being a city by itself, how all these constituted a great drain which Royalty made on the resources of the country, and when we remember how the internal trade was much hampered by vexatious tolls; when we remember all these things, we can conceive more or less what the condition of the peasantry would have been in those days. On the other hand, we also gather from the accounts of the many European travellers how trade and manufactures flourished in India and Indian manufactures filled the markets of Europe and the products of Indian loom were valued all over the civilized Europe. "We have a glowing account" writes Mr. R. C. Dutt, "of the industry of the agricultural population and the skill and ingenuity of the manufactures which triumphed over every obstacle, which covered India with large prosperous and flourishing towns and which supplied the markets of half the civilized globe with her silk and cotton fabrics. The village community system protected the people from much harassment by officials and hereditary Zamindars and Jagirdars stood between their subjects and the ruling power. Wise and strong rulers like Akbar and Shah Jehan restrained the Subhadars and high officials, and wars were not as frequent or as disastrous in India as in Europe during the same age. And lastly the rulers of the land made India their home; they levied no tribute and had no interests outside India." (e) Of the above features of the Economic policy of the Moghuls, those which had produced an influence of a more or less permanent nature, were their *system of foreign* trade, their *policy of granting Jagirs* to successful officers, generals and royal favuorites and *lastly the wisdom of the Mussalman* rulers which left the village community system to itself. For it was this village system together with the now-despised caste-system which has preserved the *Indian* civilization intact, for such a long time, throughout these

(e) "*The Civilization of India*" by R. C. Dutt pp. 129—130.

periods of foreign invasions and conquests.

The importance of the Mussalman rule in the matter of Indian foreign trade, can never be over-estimated. It was the Arabs and Moors who secured a foreign market for the goods manufactured in India. The three trade-routes.—the overland route through the N. W. passes, that through the Persian Gulf, and the route through the Red Sea—all these were entirely in the hands of the Moslem powers of Egypt, Syria, Persia and Turkey, especially before the advent of the European traders and the discovery of the route round the Cape of Good Hope. Cochin, Calicut, Goa and a host of sea-ports on the west coast owed their commercial importance only to this maritime trade. When we bear in mind, the fact that Hindus have very great scruples to cross the black waters, we shall understand how difficult it would have been for Indian goods to get a reasonably good price and appreciation in European markets but for these Arabs and Moors. The famous industries, whose decay is so much deplored nowadays owed a great deal to their support.

It may be, perhaps, said that their habit of conferring Jagirs upon provincial officers, courtiers and generals, was one of the direct causes of the existence of large Zamindari tracts, and some of the native states. Where the Zamindari system existed even before the Moghuls, they allowed the Native Zamindars to continue as such.

Another feature which resulted in works of a more or less permanent nature, was their encouragement of the artizans. It must be said to their credit that the Muhummadan rulers encouraged art. Though the buildings they constructed, mostly took the forms of tombs, palaces and mosques and not public buildings like those constructed by our present British rulers, yet we have to realise that artizans had great scope for the exercise of their skill and taste. Oriental artists of the Muhammadan Sovereigns held at their disposal unbounded wealth, unlimited labour and the most lavish profusion of precious metals and what is more remarkable than all these in their finest works, a sobriety and refinement of taste." (f)

(To be continued.)

A. KRISHNA AIYAR.

(f) Vide *India: its administration and progress,* Sir John Strachey, chap XVIII p. 322.

Reviews and Notices.

The Triumph of Valmiki: translated by Mr. R. R. Sen, B. A. from the Bengali of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit H. P. Sastri, M. L. Published by M. R. Sen and printed by Ram Kanta De at the Sonaton Press, Chittagong.

WE are thankful to Mr. R. R. Sen for favouring us with a copy of his very excellent English translation of *Valmikir Jaya*, a Bengali novel by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri, M. A. There is absolutely nothing in the body of the work before us to show that it is merely a translation and not an original production. Indeed the translator has brought to his task such naturalness and skill as to defy the eye of the critic in detecting a flaw in his English rendering. The various characters of this "beautiful prose-poem", as Vasishta, Viswamitra and Valmiki are pitched in an heroic key and do not suffer in the least in the comparison with their epical prototypes. These three sages have been drawn with a masterly hand to typify the three aspects of the spiritual side of man, viz., the intellect, will and emotion respectively. The purpose of the story itself, although not crowded with incidents of stirring human interest, is to prove the possibility of "the establishment of universal brotherhood among men through the instrumentality of the moral instead of the intellectual and physical forces." The descent of the Ribhus from the Milky Way with their soul-elevating song of brotherhood "Brother, O my brother, we all are brothers," so graphically described in the few opening chapters of the work strikes the key-note and as a fitting and noble denouement comes the *Triumph of Valmiki*, in the 3rd chapter of part VII wherein an appeal is made to Love, all-embracing, all-powerful Love, to quell the discord and anarchy which prevailed among the ranks of the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Melechas, Yavanas, Rakshasas, Vanaras, who had gathered together in the vast plains round about Kausambi with the secret purpose entering into a bloody fray. The printing and get up of the work does credit to the printers and the book contains some eight fine illustrations. We have little hesitation in commending this book to the general reader who will certainly find

it interesting and affording some food for thought as applicable to present day conditions. It can be had of Mr. M. R. Sen of Chittagong or of Messrs G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras.

Ramien Dalawa: a short biographical sketch in Malayalam by Mr. R. Kulathu Aiyar. Printed at the Bharatavilasam Press, Trichoor.

The very fact that this little brochure has elicited an introduction from the scholarly pen of Mr. A. R. Rajaraja Varma, M. A., M. R. A. S., is, we think, a guarantee of its worth and usefulness. It is written in a style, chaste and simple and free from the high-sounding Sanscrit bombast which very often disfigures the pages of current Malayalam literature. The narration does not flag in interest, the many episodes, half-romantic and half-historical, which have gathered round the name of this famous minister of Martanda Varma, succeeding one another with a dramatic suddenness. The writer, however, has not grappled with the questions with which a biographer ought to deal; nor has he thrown even a dim light on the obscure points in the biography of this Travancore Worthy. The date and place of birth of Ramien, the manner in which he entered the service of his sovereign-master, his domestic life are all matters stil left to conjecture. Ramien, as we gather from the work before us, was the child of the turbulent times in which his life was cast, and a strange mixture of the virtues and vices, which generally marks the adventurer, the warrior, the conqueror and the diplomat in the militant period of our Earth's history. His generalship, in spite of his numerous victories, does not seem to be of any high order, for in his compaigns against Chanda Sahib and Chempakaseri Raja he appears to have acted on the principle that discretion is the better part of valour and carefully refrained from the risk of an engagement. The ruse by which he secured the ring from the arrogant Parameswaran Moothathu of Chengannoor, thereby depriving him of the Managership of the temple of that place, the incendiarism he committed on the Mavelikara Raja in collusion with the rascally Idasseri Unnithan, the stratagem he later on resorted to deprive that villain of the wages of his faithlessness, all go to show that Ramien was not above a species of low cunning and treachery and his conscience appears to have been of an elastic order especially in certain matters. Indeed one would be justified from a read-

ing of this biography that the character of Ramien Dalawa, though relieved by unmistakeable traces of an indomitable will and energy, of an intellect of ready resources, of stern faithfulness to his sovereign-master, exhibits serious defects which go to detract from his greatness. But in this, we fear, we are judging a man of action from the vantage ground of the peaceful times we live in and by a higher standard which Relative Ethics would scarcely warrant us to adopt.

The Bala Bharata : a monthly Review of Indian thought, published from the Bala Bharata Office, Pondichery.

The first number of this Nationalistic Organ has been kindly sent to us and we thank the Editor for his courtesy. The object and special function of this journal are stated to be "the careful study and judicious exposition of the thoughts, ideals and aspirations of awakened India." In the first article, *the Asiatic Revival*, the writer takes occasion to say : "So, then your Japanese victories, and Turkish Revolutions although they are far from giving us entire satisfaction from the point of view of Asia's past, can still be considered as significant promises that a great stirring has begun in the East and that Asia, free from the sterile and drowsy semi-life of the Dark Age, has again stepped into an arena of sunny life and potent action." In the next article "Who is the Brahman?", it is proved pretty conclusively by quotations from the Vajra Suchika Upanishad that Caste belongs neither to the soul nor to the body of man and that it is not due to one's birth, knowledge or action as is commonly supposed. He alone is the Brahmin " who has realised—ay, seen face to face—the Atman, the ultimate truth of the universe and having realised *that* is free from the evils of desire, attachment, pride, self-assertion and is endowed with the virtue of calmness and self-control." A succinct summary of some parts of Herbert Spencer's First Principles, prepared by Mr. N. K. Ramaswami Aiya, B. A., B. L., succeeds next. Besides the editorial notes the number contains the speeches of Babu Arabindo Ghose and Lala Lajpat Rai together with some extracts from other journals. The annual subscription is only Rs. 3 and will, we hope, bring this useful journal within the reach of a large circle of readers.

The Report of the D. A. V. College Trust and Manngement Society, Lahore, for 1908. Printed at the Union Printing Works, Lahore.

The Annual Report of the D. A. V. College Trust and Manage-

ment Society for 1908 is before us. The three parts of which it is composed, dealing with the work of the Managing Committee, of the D. A. V. College and of the D. A. V. High School show substantial progress in all lines. Seventy-three gentlemen have sat upon the Managing Committee, during the year under report and of these, excepting the office-bearers, five sub-committees have been formed to carry on the work in connection with the different Departments. The popularity of the D. A. V. College and the hold it has acquired on the student population of the Punjab, are more than evidenced by the single fact that the number of students in this institution is one-third the total number of students reading in all the other Colleges affiliated to the Punjab University. In addition to the Scientific and Literary Education imparted in the Arts College, it is gratifying to learn that Theological, Ayurvedic, Engineering and Tailoring Departments have also been working and turning out students equipped with special and technical knowledge. A clear summary of the results of a year's progress is given in the penultimate paragraph of the Committee's Report and it gives nothing but a bare description of the truth. In the very important field of education and religion, the D. A. V. College is doing splendid work and stands as noble monument raised to the memory of Swami Dayananda, the revered founder of the Arya Samaj Movement.

Romesh Chunder Dutt; Budruddin Tyabji; W. C. Bonnerjee; Ananda Mohun Bose: Sketches of their life and work in four booklets, Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Esplanade, Madras. Price of each copy 4 as.

Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., of Madras have recently, added four handy volumes to their well-known serial "Biographies of eminent Indians". They are inspiring records of work done in the cause of their motherland by such men as R. C. Dutt, Buddruddin Tyabji, W. C. Bonnerjee and Ananda Mohun Bose and are useful as furnishing to the younger generation noble examples of strenuous, philanthropic and patriotic endeavour to uplift their nation. These biographical sketches are all prepared with good literary skill and will doubtless be read with interest by the general reader.